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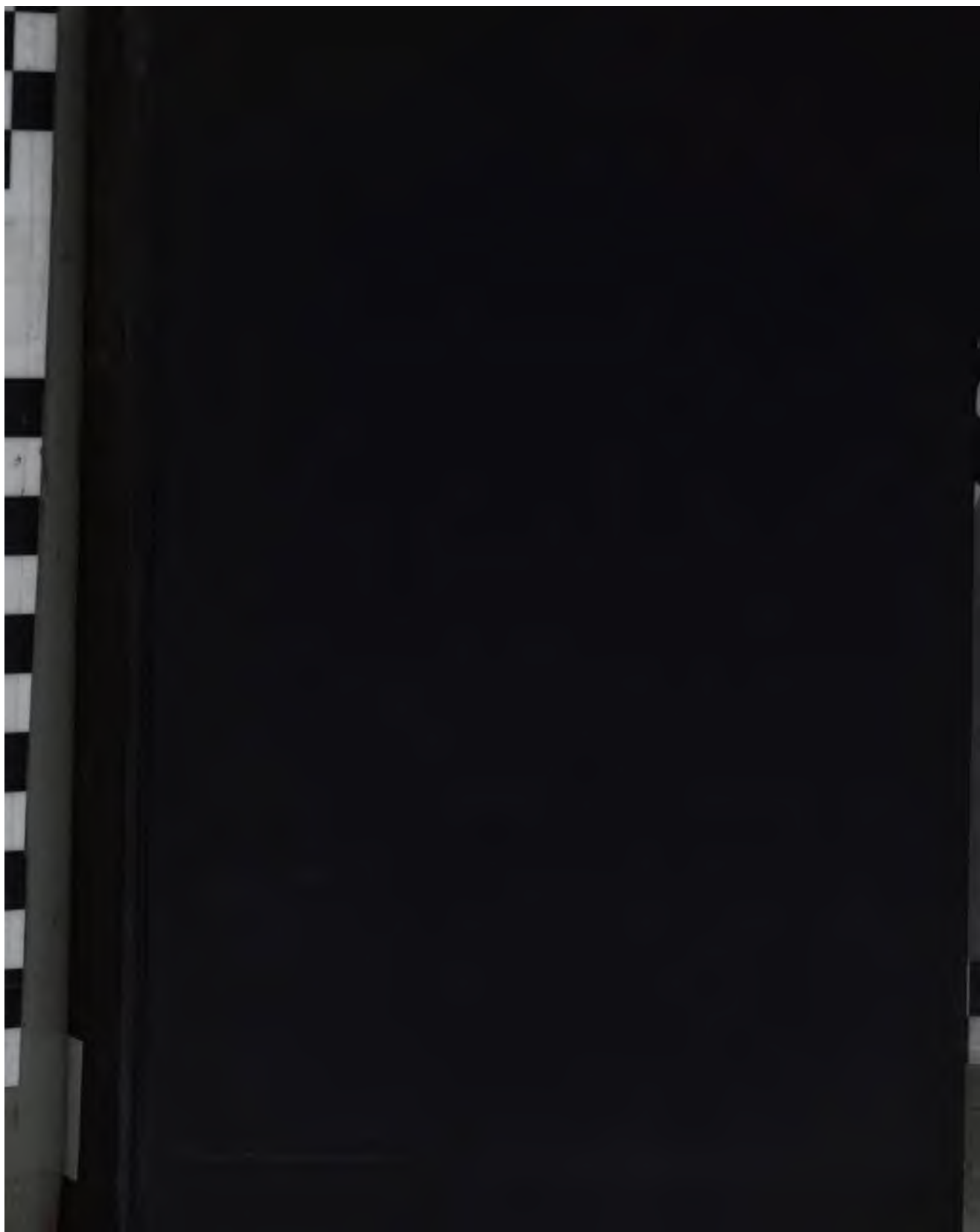
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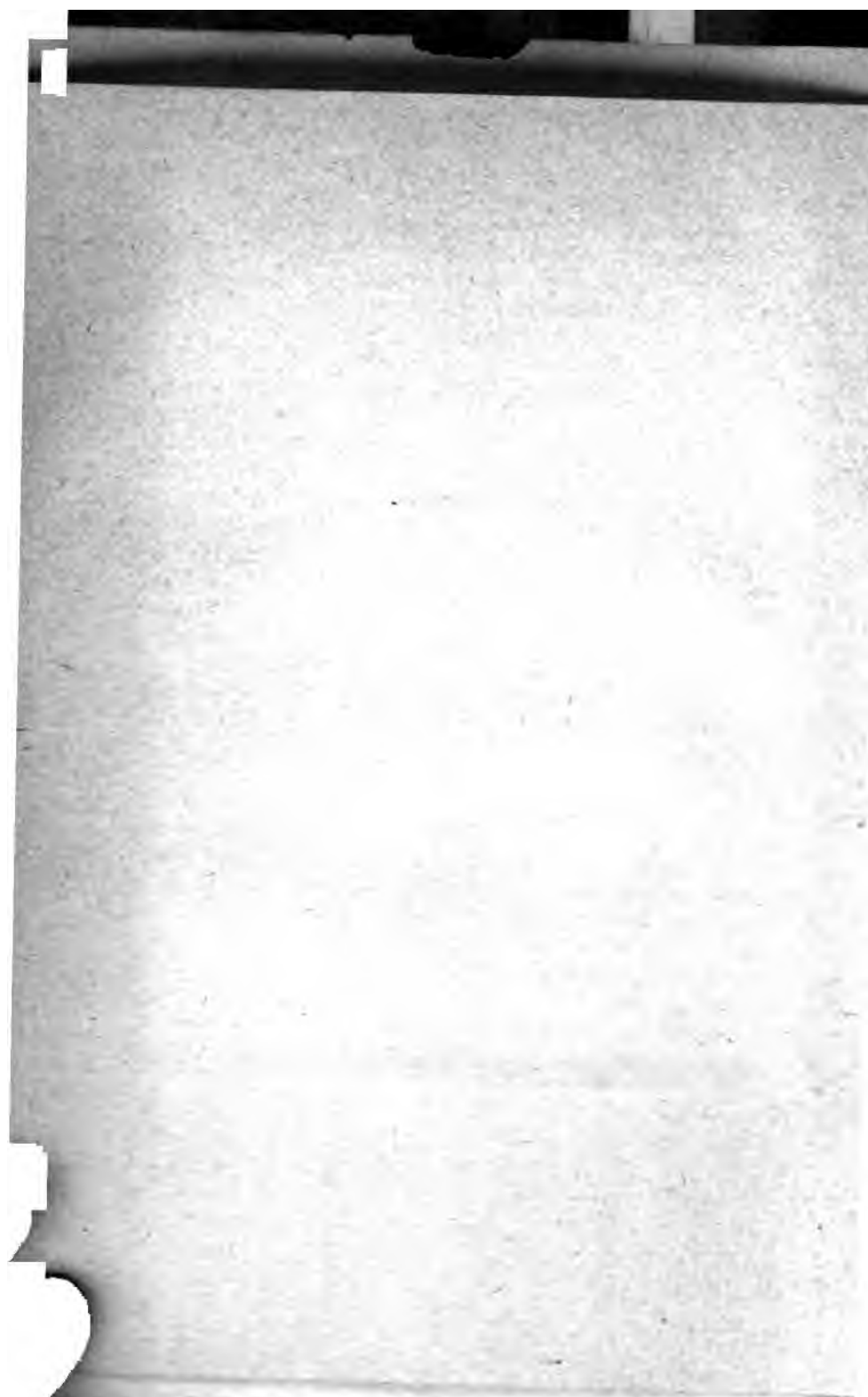
Brief Descriptive Sketch of the
Massachusetts
Public School System.

By John W. Dickinson,
Secretary of the Board of Education.



Earl Barnes



UNIVER



BRIEF DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS
PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

BY
JOHN W. DICKINSON,
SECRETARY OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

BOSTON:
NATHAN SAWYER & SON, PRINTERS,
70 STATE STREET.
1893.





THE MASSACHUSETTS PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

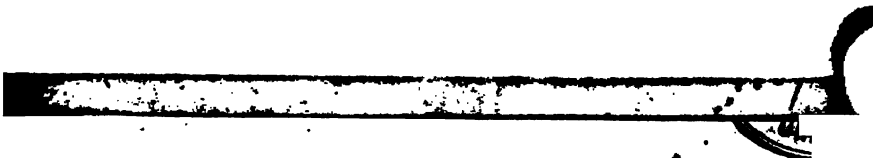
THE Massachusetts Board of Education consists of the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and eight members appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council. The appointed members hold office for eight years.

POWERS AND DUTIES.

The Board takes and holds in trust for the Commonwealth any grant or devise of lands, and any donation or bequest of money or other personal property made to it for educational purposes. It prescribes the form of registers to be kept in the schools, and the form of the blanks and inquiries for the returns to be made by school committees, and makes an annual report to the General Court containing an abstract of these returns, together with a detailed report of the doings of the Board. It is the duty of the Board to suggest the best means of promoting popular education and to require the towns of the State to obey all laws relating to the establishment and support of public schools.

SECRETARY AND HIS DUTIES.

The Board appoints its own secretary, who, under its direction makes an abstract of school returns; collects information respecting the condition of the public schools; and spreads as widely as possible throughout the Commonwealth information concerning the best course of studies, and the best method of instruction for the young, in order that they may receive the best education which public schools can be made to impart.



He visits different parts of the Commonwealth for the purpose of awakening an interest in the public schools, and receives and arranges in his office the State documents in relation to the public school system. Under the direction of the Board he holds teachers' meetings and teachers' institutes ; publishes an annual report ; and sends out blank forms of inquiry, the school registers, the annual report of the Board, and his own annual report, to the clerks of the different cities and towns for distribution.

AGENTS OF THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

The Board appoints suitable agents to visit the cities and towns for the purpose of inquiring into the condition of the schools, of meeting and conferring with teachers and school committees, and aiding the secretary in organizing and conducting teachers' institutes.


SCHOOL COMMITTEES.

Every city and town in the Commonwealth is required to elect a school committee consisting of three members or of some number divisible by three.

These officers have the general charge and superintendence of the public schools. They determine the number of schools a town shall maintain, the course of studies to be taught, the text-books to be used, and the method of teaching to be employed. They classify and distribute pupils in such a manner as they think best adapted to their general proficiency and welfare. They elect the teachers and fix their salaries, and at the end of the school year they make a report to their respective towns of their doings, and make such suggestions as they think the welfare of the schools requires. The term of office of the school committee is three years.

SUPERINTENDENTS OF SCHOOLS.

A city by ordinance and a town by vote may require the school committee annually to appoint a superintendent, who, under the direction and control of said committee, shall have the care and supervision of the public schools.



The superintendent is supposed to be an expert in all school matters, and to give his whole time to the supervision of the schools.

The small towns of the Commonwealth may provide themselves with school superintendents by uniting into districts for that purpose. Such districts receive aid from the State in the payment of salaries of both superintendents and teachers.

STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The State maintains five normal schools and one normal art school for the professional training of teachers employed in the public schools. The time of the shorter course of studies in these schools extends through a period of two years, the time of the advanced course extends through a period of four years. The school year is divided into two terms of twenty weeks each with daily sessions of not less than five days each week.

The oldest normal school in this country was established at Lexington, Massachusetts, July, 1839.

NORMAL ART SCHOOL.

The State Normal Art School was opened at Boston in the month of October, 1873.


The school offers a four years' course of training in the scientific and artistic branches and their practical application to industry, and a two years' course of training for the work of teaching and supervising drawing in the public schools.

CITY NORMAL AND TRAINING SCHOOLS.

Boston maintains one city normal school for the professional training of young women (graduates of the city high schools) for positions as teachers in the public schools. The course of studies and exercises in this school are essentially the same as those in the two years' course in the State normal schools.

In other cities and large towns of the State, training schools and training classes are organized.

The city normal school and the training schools and classes are under the charge and superintendence of the school committees of the various towns where these institutions are located.



TEACHERS' INSTITUTES.

The Board of Education has authority to conduct teachers' institutes in different parts of the Commonwealth, and the Legislature makes annual appropriations for their support. The ends to be accomplished by the State teachers' institutes are: first, to direct the attention of the people and school boards to their public schools, and to the best way of promoting their welfare; second, to call the teachers together and discuss with them the principles of education and the true method of teaching; third, to present a collection and systematic arrangement of topics on the various branches of study required to be taught in the public schools; fourth, to suggest the best means of illustrating the topics; fifth, to present an approved plan of school organization and school government.

Evening lectures and conversations in connection with the day institutes have for their object the explanation of the duties of school officers in organizing and supervising the schools, and the duties of the towns in giving to the schools a hearty support.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

The public school system of Massachusetts includes kindergarten, primary, grammar, and high schools.

These schools hold a logical relation to one another in the kinds of knowledge pursued in each, in the different modes of mental activity required in the pursuit of the kinds of knowledge, and in the different phases of mental development which the activity is adapted to produce.

The educational value of our system of public schools becomes apparent when we consider that it makes complete provision for the pursuit of the two kinds of knowledge, — elementary and scientific, — for training the mind to observe and reason, for the cultivation of language by which individual facts and general truth may be described, and for having all done in a way best adapted to the formation of good moral and intellectual habits.

The high schools are to be continued for ten months in the year. The average length of all the schools is eight and a half months.

EVENING SCHOOLS.

Every town and city having ten thousand inhabitants, or more, must establish and maintain, in addition to the other schools required by law to be maintained therein, evening schools for the instruction of persons over twelve years of age.

Every town of fifty thousand inhabitants is required to establish and thereafter annually maintain an evening high school, in which shall be taught such branches of learning as the school committee thereof may deem expedient, whenever fifty or more residents, fourteen years of age or over, who desire, and, in the opinion of the school committee, are competent to pursue high-school studies, shall petition in writing for an evening high school and certify that they desire to attend such school.

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

A town may establish and support industrial schools in which instruction may be given in the arts and in the various trades and occupations.

NAUTICAL SCHOOLS.

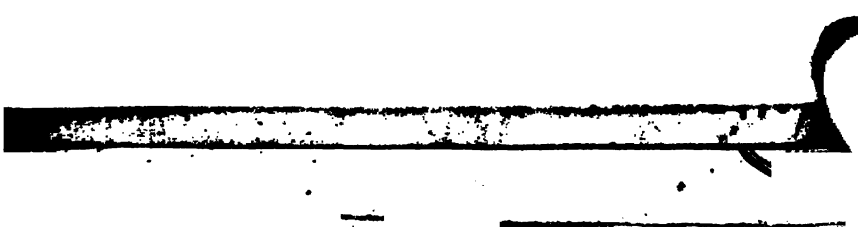
A town may organize and maintain upon shore or upon ships, or other vessels, at the option of the school committee, one or more schools for training young men or boys in nautical duties.

TRUANT SCHOOLS.

Truant children, and children between seven and fifteen years of age found wandering about the streets or public places therein, having no lawful occupation or business, not attending school, and growing up in ignorance, are arrested and sent to truant schools.

Children who persistently violate the reasonable rules of the schools are provided for in the same institutions.

Here the children are provided with well-regulated homes and good schools in which they are taught the various branches required to be taught in the public schools, and they also receive a thorough training in the industrial occupations.



FREE TEXT-BOOKS.

The school committee of every city and town is required to purchase at the expense of such city or town text-books and other supplies used in the public schools, and to loan them to the pupils free of charge.

EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN.


The laws of the Commonwealth forbid the employment of children under thirteen years of age at any time in any factory, workshop, or mercantile establishment. Such children may not be employed in any indoor work, performed for wages or other compensation to whomsoever payable, during the hours when the public schools are in session in the city or town where they reside; nor shall they be employed at all while the schools are in session, unless they have attended school for twenty weeks during the year next preceding.

MASSACHUSETTS COMPULSORY LAW.

Every person having under his control a child between the ages of eight and fourteen years shall annually cause such child to attend some public day school in the city or town where he resides for at least thirty weeks, if the schools are kept open so long, with an allowed absence of two weeks. For every neglect of such duty, the person offending shall forfeit a sum not exceeding twenty dollars.

If the child has attended a private school approved by the school committee, or has been otherwise instructed for a like period of time in the branches of learning required by law to be taught in the public schools, or has acquired a knowledge of the branches of learning required to be taught in the public schools, or if his physical or mental condition renders such attendance inexpedient, such penalty shall not be incurred.

The compulsory school laws of the Commonwealth are well received and cheerfully obeyed.



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HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL OUTLINE

OF THE

PAST AND PRESENT

POSITION OF EDUCATION

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

CORNELIUS WALFORD, F.S.S.,

Barrister-at-Law.

*(Read at the Meeting of the National Association for the Promotion of Social
Science, held at Edinburgh, October, 1863.)*

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1864.

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INTRODUCTION.

To trace with anything like detailed connexion the past history of education in the United States—extending as that history does over a period of two centuries and a half,—or to present a clear and intelligible view of education as it now is, extending over between thirty or forty different States, and all, or nearly all, embodying some points more or less peculiar to themselves, is a task simply impossible of accomplishment on such an occasion as the present.

But, having observed in most of the writings upon the subject on this side of the Atlantic, a strange want of accurate appreciation of facts and circumstances, I resolved to attempt in some sort to supply the deficiency.

The most I can hope to accomplish, is, to erect certain guide-posts by the wayside, which may serve to keep subsequent wayfarers on the right track. A still more extensive survey will be required before the chart can be completed.

It is in the nature of such an effort that it should be disjointed and abrupt. I believe it will be found chronologically and statistically accurate; for the best authorities have been consulted.

I feel the inconvenience of presenting a professedly incomplete paper before a community so well versed in all that relates to education. The circumstances furnish the apology.

PART I.—HISTORICAL.

Colonial Period.—Education in the United States is not, nor ever has been, a governmental institution. It arose out of, and has since been maintained and developed by, the strong instinctive desire of the people. The first settlers were as urgent in its behalf as are the most ardent enthusiasts of the present day. The Pilgrim Fathers generally receive much credit for their efforts in this direction, and they deserve it, but they do not deserve all the credit. It was natural for people who founded colonies with the view of securing religious and political freedom to take fast hold of education as a means to their end. But the earliest colonists to the North American

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Continent were not all of this class: the very first went in search of gold, and the precious metals; the next for purposes of agriculture and commerce; and then followed the Pilgrims.

The first English colony planted on the American shores was that of Jamestown in Virginia. This was founded in 1607, under a charter granted in the previous year by King James I., of Scottish memory, to a London Company to "Deduce a colony into Virginia." The King himself drew the laws for its government, and then took the first step in the history of education on that vast Continent. The colony was not firmly established until 1613, and in 1618 the King wrote an autograph letter to the Archbishops of England, authorising them to invite the members of the Church throughout the kingdom to contribute funds for the erection of churches and schools in the colony. The sum of £1,500 was raised for these purposes, and licence was given to the company to set apart 10,000 acres of land for the support of a college. Subsequently other donations were appropriated to the same good object.

In the following year (1619), the governor of the "plantation of Virginia" was instructed to see that "each town, borough, and hundred, procured by just means a certain number of their children to be brought up in the first elements of literature, that the most towardly of them should be fitted for college in the building, which they proposed to proceed with as soon as any profit arose from the estate appropriated to that use; and they earnestly require their help in that pious and important work."

Here was an educational effort from the beginning. Whether the King was prompted by the founders of the Colony, or acted, as is most probable he did, upon his own wisdom and discernment, is not material. The people took up, and followed the educational idea with avidity.

In the Colonial Assembly of Virginia, in 1631, it was enacted as follows:—

[*Sic.*] "It is also thought fit that upon every Sunday the mynister shall, halfe an hour or more before evening prayer, examine, catechise, and instruct the youths and ignorant persons of his parish in the ten commandments, the articles of the beliefe, and in the Lord's prayer; and shall diligentlie heere, instruct and teach the catechisme, sett forth in the book of Common. And all fathers, mothers, maysters, and mistrisses, shall cause their children, servants and apprentices, which have not learned their catechisme, to come to church at the time appoynted, obedientlie to heere and to be ordered by the mynister untill they have learned the same, and of any of the sayd fathers, mothers, maysters and mistresses, children, servants, or apprentices, shall neglect their duties, as the one sorte in not causinge them to come, and the other in refusinge to learne as aforesayd, they shall be censured by the corts in these places holden." And, in order to secure the execution of the last clause, it is provided, in the oath of the warder to be taken before "the justices for the monthlie corts," that "they shall present such mastys and mystresses as shall be

delinquent in the catechysinge the youth and ignorant persons, so help you God."

The people here, as in the later American Colonies, went at the educational work in right earnest. If they could not do all they would, they at least determined to do all they could. The college which had been founded under the patronage of the King indeed died out, and even its site cannot be traced; but the idea survived, and has carried its own convictions.

In the 10,000 acres of land, first set apart for this now forgotten educational institution, may be traced the germ of the millions of acres with which the schools of the United States have since been donated; and in the ordinance that each town, borough, and hundred, procure by just means the first elements of literature, lies the educational grain of mustard seed which has since grown into a mighty tree, covering that vast Continent with its branches, and offering intellectual shelter to all who gather under its luxuriant foliage.

I will now glance at the other colonies which were rapidly forming at this period.

Between 1620 and 1630, the first New England Colonies in Massachusetts Bay were planted; and in 1636, the General Court of these colonies met in Boston, and passed an Act appropriating £400 to the establishment of a college. The college founded on this grant is the now famous Harvard University, the mother seat of learning in the Western Hemisphere. In 1642, the governor, with the magistrates, teachers, and elders, was empowered to establish statutes and constitutions for the regulation of the same; and in 1650 the charter was granted under which it is now governed. The entire population of the colony at the time this college was founded, could not have been more than four or five thousand, scattered through ten or twelve villages; and it is a recorded fact that the sum appropriated to its use was more than the whole tax at that time levied upon the colony in a single year. The income from the Charlestown ferry was voted to the college in 1640, and still belongs to it.

The General Court met in accordance with their powers granted in 1642, and thus enacted:—

"Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoof and benefit to any commonwealth; and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent and negligent of their duty in this kind, —it is therefore ordered by the court and the authority thereof, that the selectmen* of every town, in the several precincts and quarters where they dwell, shall have a vigilant eye over their brethren and neighbours, to see first that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families as not to endeavour to teach by

* Selectmen were those who, under the votes and direction of the people in town meeting assembled, managed all the details of municipal affairs. The office is continued at the present day.

themselves or others their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue, and have knowledge of the capital laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein : also that all masters of families do, once a week at least, catechise their children and servants in the grounds and principles of religion, and if unable to do so much, that then at least they procure such children or apprentices to learn some short orthodox catechism without book, that they may be able to answer to the questions that shall be propounded to them out of such catechism, by their parents or masters or any of the selectmen, when they shall call them to a trial of what they have learned in this kind ; and further that all parents and masters do breed and bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling, labour or employment, either in husbandry, or in some other trade profitable for themselves and the commonwealth, if they will not nor cannot train them up in learning, to fit them for higher employments ; and if any of the selectmen, after admonition by them given to such masters and families, shall find them still neglectful of their duty in the particulars aforementioned, where children or servants become rude, stubborn, and unruly, the said selectmen—with the help of two magistrates—shall take such children or apprentices from them and place them with some master for years ; boys till they come to twenty-one, and girls eighteen years of age complete, which will more strictly look into, and force them to submit unto government according to the rules of this order, if by fair means and former instruction they will not be drawn into it."

This was the first legislative attempt ; it did not, however, reach the point aimed at ; and five years later, or in 1647, the following General School Law was passed by the same Court :—

" *Scholes.*—Sec. 1. It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues so that at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers ; and to the end that learning may not be buried in the grave of our forefathers in church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours :

" It is therefore ordered by this Court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read ; whose wages shall be paid, either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those who order the prudentials of the town shall appoint ; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns."

" Sec. 2. And it is further ordered, that when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they

civil among us and our posterity after us." In 1693, the Colonial Assembly enacted that "for the building and repairing of meeting houses, ministers' houses, and allowing a salary to a schoolmaster in each town within this province, the selectmen shall raise, by an equal rate, an assessment upon the inhabitants;" and in 1719 it was ordained that every town having fifty householders should be constantly provided with a schoolmaster, to teach children to read and write, and those having one hundred should maintain a grammar school to be kept by some decent person of good conversation well instructed in the tongues. In 1721, it was ordered that not only each town but each parish of one hundred families should be constantly provided with a grammar school, or forfeit the sum of twenty pounds to the treasury of the province. This system of elementary and secondary instruction continued substantially until the adoption of the State constitution in 1792.

The early history of the State of New York discloses no very active measures towards the promotion of education. In the settlements of the New Netherlands, as the State was then called, the school was regarded as an appendage of the Church, and the schoolmaster was paid in part out of the funds of the Government. In this form a parochial school existed in every parish. In 1658, the burgomaster and schepens of New Amsterdam (the later title of the settlement) felt a want beyond these ordinary parish schools, and in a petition sent by them to the West India Company, under whose Government the Colony then was, they represented "that the youth of this place and the neighbourhood are increasing in number gradually, and that most of them can read and write, but that some of the citizens and inhabitants would like to send their children to a school, the principal of which understands Latin, but are not able to do so without sending them to New England: furthermore, they have not the means to hire a Latin schoolmaster expressly for themselves from New England, and therefore they ask that the West India Company will send out a fit person as Latin schoolmaster, not doubting that the number of persons that will send their children to such teacher, will from year to year increase, until an academy shall be formed, whereby this place to great splendour will have attained, for which, next to God, the Honourable Company, which shall have sent such teacher here, shall have laud and praise." A Latin master was accordingly sent, and the burgomaster proposed to give him 500 guilders annually (equal to £58 6s. 8d.), with the use of a house and garden, with the privilege of collecting a tuition tax of six guilders per quarter of each pupil. In 1732, a free school for teaching Latin and Greek, and practical branches of mathematics, was incorporated by law, and the preamble of the Act of Incorporation opens as follows:—"Whereas the youth of the Colony are found, by manifold experience, to be not inferior in their natural genius to the youth of any other country in the world, therefore, &c., &c.,"—an early indication of the faculty of boasting, which has since become so proverbial.

The outline of the constitution of the province of Pennsylvania, dated 25th April, 1682, drawn up by William Penn, before leaving England, contains the following provision:—"The Governor and provincial Council shall erect and order all public schools, and reward the authors of useful sciences and laudable inventions in said province." In 1683, the Governor and Council in Philadelphia "having taken into their serious consideration the great necessity there is of a schoolmaster in the town of Philadelphia, sent for Enoch Flower, an inhabitant of said town, who for twenty years past hath been exercised in that care and employment in England, to whom having communicated their minds, he embraced it upon the following terms:—to learn to read English, 4s. by the quarter; to learn to read and write, 6s.; read, write, and cast accounts, 8s.; for boarding a scholar, £10 per year." There was, however, no general legislation on the subject of education until after the Independent Settlement of the State.

In Maryland, the first enactment relating to public education appears to have been passed in 1694. It was a petitionary Act, appealing to the Royal liberality which had been extended to the neighbouring colony of Virginia in the institution of a college—"a place of universal study," and it asks, "that for the propagation of the Gospel, and the education of the youth of this Province in good letters and manners, that a certain place or places for a free school or schools, or place of study of Latin, Greek, writing, and the like, consisting of one master, one usher, and one writing master or scribe, to a school and 100 scholars," be established in Arundel county, of which the Archbishop of Canterbury should be chancellor, and to be called "King William's School;" and a similar school is asked for in each county, to be established from time to time as the resources of the several counties may suffice. Up to the establishment of the State Government, in 1777, there was, however, no system of common schools for elementary instruction in operation in Maryland.

The remainder of the colonies, which afterwards constituted the Thirteen Original States of the Union, viz., Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, afford no trace of early effort in the cause of education. In most cases the matter was left to individual and parental care. In New Jersey, and probably several others of these States, the clergy kept schools in connexion with their churches, but under no organised system either of foundation or support. In most of them, some steps were taken towards an improved state of matters, during the last century: and in South Carolina the English Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts really took the initiative, through the clergy of the several churches.

I believe there is very little to add in relation to the educational movements of the seventeenth century; nor indeed is there much to remark upon until the termination of the colonial period, near the close of the eighteenth century.

In 1749, Benjamin Franklin published his "Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania," out of which originated the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Dove, who was at the head of the English department, delivered a lecture on experimental philosophy, and did much to arouse attention to an improved standard of attainment, but very little real advancement took place.

Female education had, up to this period, been comparatively neglected, and that special supplementary training which at the present day does so much to alleviate the misfortunes of the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the feeble-minded, was quite unknown. A school of medicine, indeed, gave degrees in New York in 1769; and a theological seminary was founded in Pennsylvania in 1778; but the first law school was not founded till after the Peace of 1783. A general rudimentary and popular education had alone been aimed at. The liberally-educated men owed their advantages to the colleges whose foundations we have traced; while some of the more wealthy families sent their sons to the English Universities.

It was becoming necessary at this period that some new life should be thrown into educational measures: for although enactments had been passed, and the machinery for popular education was in existence, the practice, at least in the county districts, was very much neglected. Some very strong, and at the same time, humorous testimony on this point is furnished, in a pamphlet by Robert Coram, bearing this title "A Plan for the General Establishment of Schools throughout the United States," printed in Wilmington, Delaware, in 1791. "The country schools," he says, "through most of the United States, whether we consider the buildings, the teachers, or the regulations, are in every respect despicable, wretched, and contemptible. The buildings are, in general, sorry hovels, neither wind nor water-tight; a few stools serving in the double capacity of bench and desk, and the old leaves of copybooks making a miserable substitute for glass windows. The teachers are generally foreigners, shamefully deficient in every qualification necessary to convey instruction to youth, and not seldom addicted to gross vices. Absolute in his own opinion, and proud of introducing what he calls his European method, one calls the first letter of the alphabet, *aw*. The school is modified on this plan, and the children who are advanced are beat and cuffed to forget the former mode they have been taught, which irritates their minds and retards their progress. The quarter being finished, the children lie idle, until another master offers, few remaining in one place more than a quarter. When the next schoolmaster is introduced, he calls the first letter, *a*, as in *mat*; the school undergoes another reform, and is equally vexed and retarded. At his removal, a third is introduced, who calls the first letter, *hay*. All these blockheads are generally absolute in their own notions, and will by no means suffer the children to pronounce the letter as they were first taught; but every three months, the school goes through a reform—error succeeds error, and dunce the second reigns like

dunce the first. I will," he continues, "venture to pronounce that however seaport towns, from local circumstances, may have good schools, the country schools will remain in their present state of despicable wretchedness, unless incorporated with Government."

Revolutionary Period.—We pass from the Colonial to the Revolutionary Period—the close of the eighteenth century—when the colonists fought for and obtained their independence. The war over, and the colonies free, the important period of reconstruction arrived. Each colony was now to be transformed into an independent State—these States ultimately entering into a Federal Compact or Union, for political effect, but not for internal or domestic Government. In these last particulars each State was to be sovereign, and free. The subject of education was under this arrangement regarded as a matter of domestic policy, and therefore no national system was adopted, although a very favourable one was propounded by Mr. Jefferson. The loss of this opportunity for introducing a uniform national system of instruction, I shall always consider as a misfortune, whatever the reasons at the period may have been, and however much has since been done by the individual States.

The general importance of education, rather than the particular system to be adopted, was the topic that filled the minds of the great men of that day. The people had determined to be free: and they elected a Republican form of Government, because they believed it embodied the greatest amount of political freedom. But the great minds of the period knew that with the political power in the hands of the people, the people must be educated, or mischief would follow. Their recorded sentiments on this subject alone should constitute a monument sacred to their memory:—

"Promote," said the great George Washington, "as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." "Learned institutions," said James Madison, "ought to be the favourite objects with every free people; they throw that light over the mind, which is the best security against crafty and dangerous encroachments on the public liberty." "A system of general instruction, which shall reach every description of our citizens, from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest so shall it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest." Such was the declaration of Thomas Jefferson. "Moral, political, and intellectual improvement are duties assigned by the Author of our existence to social no less than to individual man."—John Quincy Adams. "There is but one method of preventing crime, and of rendering a Republican form of Government durable, and that is by disseminating the seeds of virtue and knowledge through every part of the State by means of proper modes and places of education."—Benjamin Rush. "There is one object which I earnestly

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circumstances, and in most of these the subject of education is more or less dwelt upon :—

Massachusetts breaks out in the old strain :—"Wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties, and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the Legislature and magistrates in all future periods of this Commonwealth to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and of all seminaries of them, especially the University at Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the Town; to encourage private societies and public institutions by rewards and annuities for the promotion of agriculture, arts, sciences, commerce, trades, manufactures, and a natural history of the country; to countenance and inculcate the principles of humanity and general benevolence, public and private charity, industry, and frugality, honesty, and punctuality in their dealings; sincerity, good humour, and all social affections, and generous sentiments among the people."

New Hampshire, in 1789, empowered and required the selectmen of the several towns to assess an annual tax upon the inhabitants for the support of a school or schools for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic, and in each county town a grammar school for the purpose of teaching Greek and Latin languages, in addition to other studies.

Pennsylvania, in her constitution of 1790, ordains that the Legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis, and "that the arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning."

Connecticut, in 1795, in addition to a special tax for the support of common schools, collectable with the other public taxes, appropriated the proceeds of the sales of three million of acres of land belonging to the State and situate in Ohio, since known as the Western Reserve, as a perpetual fund for the same object.

New York, in 1795, appropriated fifty thousand dollars (£10,000 sterling) annually for the purpose of encouraging and maintaining common schools in the several cities and towns, which cities and towns, however, were required to raise by tax for the same purpose a sum equal to one-half the amount received from the State.

Virginia, in 1796, passed a general school law, the preamble of which enunciates a great political truth—"Whereas, upon a review of the history of mankind it seemeth that however favourable a Republican Government, founded on the principles of equal liberty, justice, and order may be to human happiness, no real stability or lasting permanency thereof can be rationally hoped for, if the minds of the citizens be not rendered liberal and humane, and be not fully impressed with the importance of those principles from which

these blessings proceed; with a view therefore to lay the first foundation of a system of education which may tend to produce those desirable purposes"—they enact, &c., &c.

Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, passed school laws with aims as generous as those of the above preamble, but the institutions established were for higher learning and the few, and not for the great masses of the community.

North Carolina contented herself with the simple declaration—"Schools shall be established by Legislature for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct at low prices."

New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland, endeavoured to follow the example of Pennsylvania, and provide free education for the poor, instead of common schools where all classes of the community might enjoy some advantages, but from various causes their efforts have not been attended with entire success.

I believe it will be found that all the States which have been admitted into the Union since the Federation was formed, have some provision for public education incorporated in their respective constitutions, with the single exception of Illinois, but this last-named State does not lack the facilities of education even by reason of this omission, as the sequel will show.

Vermont, the first admitted, in her constitution of 1793, declares "that a competent number of schools ought to be maintained in each town for the convenient instruction of youth, and one or more grammar schools to be incorporated and properly supported in each county," and by subsequent legislation imposed the tax necessary for their support.

Ohio, the second admitted (1802), enjoins that "the General Assembly shall make such provision by taxation or otherwise as, with the income arising from the School Trust Fund, will secure a thorough and efficient system of common schools through the State; but no religious or other sect or sects shall ever have any exclusive right or control of any part of the school funds of this State."

Indiana, admitted in 1816, requires that the General Assembly shall provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools.

Maine demands that the towns—the whole State being divided into districts called towns—shall make suitable provision at their own expense for the support and maintenance of public schools.

And so on, through all the list of New States even down to Texas, whose constitution declares that "a general diffusion of knowledge being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, it shall be the duty of the Legislature of this State to make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools."

While in fact there is no national system of education in the United States in the sense in which that term is generally applied,

there is a system extending itself throughout the entire community, not indeed uniform in its action, or harmonious in all its details, but having its foundation in the unanimous will of the people, and cherished and developed by the Government of each individual State, which believes, and justly so, that it can only maintain its position and importance among its sister States by steadfastly advancing the intelligence of the people.

PART II.—STATISTICAL.

More than half a century has now elapsed since the majority of the States made these declarations in regard to the importance of education, and re-organised their systems in accordance therewith. It is time then to look around, and see what has been accomplished. To this end, we must invoke the aid of statistics, as well for the force of their direct evidence as for the purposes of comparison.

In judging of results, we must always bear in mind the object aimed at; and at this juncture, I cannot perhaps do better than quote the words of the great Daniel Webster. "Knowing," he says, "that our government rests directly upon the public will, that we may preserve it, we endeavour to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect all men to be philosophers or statesmen, but we confidently expect, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests on that trust, that by the diffusion of general knowledge and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure as well against open violence and overthrow as against the slow but sure undermining of licentiousness." The object was to reach the masses, and in this it has been eminently successful.

Statistical records of the early educational progress do not appear to have been generally kept; and indeed seeing that each State has the independent control of its educational establishments entirely irrespective of the other States, and that no uniform system of return, either in point of time or detail has been devised, the limit of inquiry and comparison is very seriously curtailed.

Happily, in recent years this defect has been partially remedied, by including educational statistics within range of the operations of the Census, which is taken in the States, as with us, decennially. A greater importance indeed attaches to that event there than here, for both taxation and political representation depend directly, and rank and importance indirectly, upon the numbers of the people in the respective States.

Fortunately for future reference, the educational statistics were taken as part of the details of the eighth census in 1860, shortly before the present important conflict between South and North assumed an openly hostile attitude. But unfortunately for my present purposes, the statistics so collected are not yet published, and I am compelled to fall back upon those embodied in the previous census.

According to the seventh census, there were existing in the

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Both these results I propose to place in comparison with those of our own, and other countries. They will be treated under separate heads.

Keeping up the distinction between Colleges, Academies, and Public Schools, it would seem that in 1850 there was in the Slave States one college student to every 500 of the population ; in the Free States one to every 900—average one in 700. In the Slave States, one academy pupil to every 65 of the population ; in the Free States, one to every 85—average one in 75. And as to the public schools in the Slave States, one to every 11 of the population ; in the Free States, one to every 5—average one in 8. The conclusion being a confirmation of what is already known to most of us—viz., that in the Slave States education is chiefly confined to the higher class, while in the Free States it is general to all.

Proportion of Children under Education.—The ordinary test of the relative efficiency of educational systems is to take the proportion of the population under instruction at any given date. This of course applies to numerical efficiency only, and even in this sense requires to be accepted with qualification. It is easy to perceive that in putting either the United States, where public education has become the fashion, or Prussia where the attendance at public schools is compulsory, in contrast with Great Britain, where a large proportion of the children of the more opulent classes in their early years have an almost exclusively domestic or private education, the conditions are too diverse to be absolutely conclusive. Yet, as it is the only available test, we are driven to adopt it.

A comparison made on these data some twenty-five years since, gave the following results : United States, one child under instruction to every 4 of the population ; Kingdom of Saxony, one in $5\frac{1}{2}$; Prussia, one in 6 ; Denmark, one in 7 ; Norway, the same ; Scotland, one in 8 ; Switzerland, one in 9 ; Austria, one in 10 ; Belgium, the same ; England, one in 11 ; Lombardy, one in $12\frac{1}{2}$; Ireland, one in 13 ; France, one in $13\frac{1}{2}$.*

In 1853, the Education Commission, which sat in England, found the proportion as follows : In Prussia, one in $6\frac{1}{2}$ (6·27) ; in Holland, one in 8 (8·11) ; in France, one in 9 (9·) ; in England and Wales, one in $7\frac{1}{2}$ (7·7) ;—ranking next to Prussia. In the United States, in 1850, as I have already said, it was one in 5.

The improvement in England has been rapid. In 1818, Lord Brougham's returns gave the proportions of week-day scholars to the population as one in $17\frac{1}{2}$. In 1833, Lord Kerry's returns gave one in $11\frac{1}{2}$ (11·27). The returns of the census of 1851 gave one in $8\frac{3}{4}$ (8·36). Those in 1858 being, as I have shown, still more favourable.

In the United States the proportion is found to fluctuate very much among the several States, ranging indeed from one in 3 in Maine ; to one in 5 in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania ; to one in

* *Vide* a table quoted by Mr. Rawson, from a work published in Brussels, in 1838, by M. Duquetiaux, in Vol. 2 of the "Statistical Journal," p. 386.

United States in 1850, 80,978 public schools ; 6,085 incorporated and other academies, and 239 national colleges, making a total of 87,302 educational establishments.

The 80,978 public schools imparted instruction to 3,354,011 pupils, engaging the noble army of 91,966 teachers in the work.

The 6,085 academies afforded education to 263,096 pupils, engaging the services of 12,260 teachers.

The 239 colleges had a total of 27,821 pupils, who were instructed by 1,678 teachers and professors.

The annual incomes of these respective classes of establishments were as follows :—

Public Schools	...	...	...	£1,970,158
Academies	...	...	...	1,166,235
Colleges	...	...	...	428,471

The united returns of these public schools, academies, and colleges came out as follows :—There were 87,302 places of education employing 105,904 teachers, imparting instruction to 3,644,928 pupils, and drawing an aggregate income of £3,564,864 sterling.

The population of the United States at that date was 23,191,876, of whom 3,204,313 were slaves, and 434,449 free blacks, leaving the white population at 19,553,114 ; and the "settled" area of the various States and territories constituting the Federal Union at that date was 1,893,487 square miles. Hence we have this result : that in 1850 there was one public educational establishment to every 22 miles of settled territory, and for every 244 of the white population.

The population of the United States in 1860 was 31,443,322, of whom 3,953,760 were slaves, and 487,970 free coloured, leaving 26,973,843 whites ; and the area of the States and organised territories of the Union had extended to 2,819,811 square miles ; so that, applying the test of 1850, we may expect to find that ten years had increased the educational establishments to about 120,000. It has been officially announced that there were about five millions of persons under instruction in the States in 1860—being an increase of nearly one million and a half.*

According to the returns made by the heads of families in 1850, the total number of pupils attending schools was stated as 4,063,046, being 418,118 in excess of the numbers returned by the educational establishments ; but illness, death, and removals would account for the discrepancy in a great measure. In my comparisons I take in all cases the numbers given by the school returns. In England it has been found that the average attendance at the public day schools is only 76 per cent. of the total number on the books.†

The proportion of children under instruction to the white population in 1850 comes out as 1 in 5 ; and the average annual cost of education, taking the stated incomes of the educational establishments, just under £1 per head.

* "Preliminary Report of the 8th Census," p. 19.

† "Journal of the Statistical Society," Vol. 34, p. 209.

endeavour to collect accurate information on this point, but confined his attention chiefly to the Colleges. He says:—"The efforts made to ascertain the necessary annual expense of each student have not been attended with very satisfactory results. Some colleges giving cost of board, tuition, rent, room, &c., others adding clothing and other items of personal expenditure, always a variable sum. The two highest estimates from the colleges for male students only, are Harvard University and Trinity College, Hartford, each about £50 sterling; and Rochester University, from £40 to £60." He continues—"It is not probable, however, that the actual expenditure in the two latter is much, if at all, greater than that of Colleges in cities generally. The estimates in the Eastern Colleges usually range from £26 to £40 sterling per annum; and of the Western, from £18 to £30."

In some of the more recent reports of the States, the following percentage of the annual average cost of education at the public schools came out: Pennsylvania, 14s. 6d.; New York, 16s. 8d.; Minnesota, £1 4s. 6d.; Massachusetts, £1 7s. 1d.; New Jersey, £1 14s. 2d.; and in Boston city the cost was £3 per head, per annum, in 1861.

I can find no recent returns of the exact proportion of children educated entirely free in the States. In 1840, it was stated to be rather less than one in five. I anticipate the proportion is very much larger now, as nearly all the common schools are entirely free; and in some cases, the Academies and Colleges too.*

As a rule, each grade of education above the common schools has to be paid for in whole or in part by the parents or guardians of the pupils. These higher schools are not generally supported by public taxation; but they have in many cases derived large revenues from private beneficence.

The annual cost of the present educational appliances to the respective States is of course affected and moderated by two circumstances: first the standard of excellence set up, but more particularly by the amount of the school fund accumulated, or the extent of the income of any special grants. For instance, the actual annual expenditure for education in the State of New York, for the year ending the 1st of October, 1861, was £768,454, or about 16s. 8d. per head. But this State has an accumulated school fund of £525,000—producing an annual revenue of £25,000, and is entitled to the annual revenue of other funds producing £52,000, which takes off about £77,000 or 10 per cent. of the burden, and leaves the taxpayer to contribute the balance of the expenditure only. In some other States, the proportion of the proceeds of the school funds to the entire population is still greater.

The Educational Finance of the State of New York is almost startling in its magnitude, as the above figures will indicate, and the expenditure is increasing more rapidly than the population. I have

* "Journal of the Statistical Society," Vol. 17, p. 381.

6 in Illinois and Iowa ; and to one in 15 in Oregon. In the Slave States, the average was one in 10.

The per-centage of children of the school age attending at the public schools in the different States varies as follows: In Massachusetts, 74 per cent. ; in New York, 70 ; Wisconsin, 65 ; Pennsylvania, 63 ; Ohio, 46 ; Maine, 45. The other States do not return their per-centages.

The only statistics I have at hand in relation to the number of children and persons under education in England are those given in the Report of the Commission on Education in England and Wales in 1858. In this Report it is stated that there were in 1858, 2,585,462 scholars in week-day schools. Of these 1,675,158 were in public schools ; 860,304 were in private adventure schools, or schools kept for the profit of private persons. Of the 1,675,158 scholars in public schools, 1,549,312 were in week-day schools supported by the various religious bodies ; 43,748 were in ragged, philanthropic, Birkbeck, and factory schools ; 47,748 in workhouse, reformatory, naval, and military schools ; and about 35,000 in collegiate and the richer endowed schools. The religious bodies are therefore the chief supporters of education in this country. The number of scholars in Sunday schools in the same year was 2,411,554, and in evening schools 80,966.*

Cost of Education.—The cost of education is a point at which a very large proportion of the interest of the subject may be said to centre, but it is most difficult of elucidation. The cost to the pupils or their parents and guardians is one aspect of the case ; the cost of maintaining the educational establishment, another. The latter is the only one with which I can deal, for the former is affected by the character of the school, its endowments, and other uncertain and arbitrary conditions.

Taking the income of the United States educational establishments in relation to the number of pupils, as shown by the seventh census, the cost of the public schools comes out at about 12s. per pupil per annum. The academies just over £4, and the colleges rather over £15. The average of the whole being about £1 per pupil.

In 1850 or 1851, the cost per pupil in six of the principal cities of the States was ascertained to be as follows: Boston, £3 4s. 3d. ; New York, £2 4s. 3d. ; Baltimore, £2 4s. 3d. ; St. Louis, £1 19s. 7d. ; Philadelphia, £1 10s. 6d. ; Cincinnati, £1 6s. 6d. But the expenditure is very much greater in the town than in the country, the education being of a higher standard, and the teachers as a consequence much more costly.†

The superintendent of the recent United States census‡ made an

* "Journal of the Statistical Society," Vol. 24, p. 208.

† Trommenheere's "Notes on Public Subjects in the United States and Canada, 1852," p. 57.

‡ Mr. Josiah C. G. Kennedy, well-known in statistical circles in this country, for his ability and untiring industry.

these class-rooms when the question of the efficiency of the school is concerned, it may be mentioned that the plan now becoming common, because most approved of, is to give to every child a small desk and a chair to himself, or at most two are placed at one desk, with a chair each."*

Nearly all the school houses have in conjunction with them school libraries, upon some of which considerable expenditure has been made. The latest school returns indicate that the number of volumes in this class of libraries is not far from 4,000,000.

As incidentally bearing upon the cost of education, comes the rate of payment to the teachers. I intend only to select examples relating to the public or common schools, but it is not impossible that some of the higher averages comprise the teachers in the schools of higher grade; it is only on such a supposition that I am enabled to reconcile the following results drawn from recent reports. All the payments are per month, and I give them in dollars and cents for greater exactness: Massachusetts, male teachers 47 dollars (of 4s. 2d.) 71 cents (each cent equal to one half-penny), female teachers dols. 19,95 cents; Connecticut, male, dols. 32, female, dols. 16,14 cents; Maine, male, dols. 28, female, dols. 13; New Hampshire, male, dols. 24,35 cents, female, dols. 14,12 cents; Pennsylvania, male, dols. 25,68 cents, female, dols. 19,71 cents; Delaware, average male and female, dols. 29,41 cents; Ohio, male, dols. 27,81 cents, female, dols. 16,5 cents; Michigan, male, dols. 26,6 cents, female, dols. 13,52 cents; Indiana, male, dols. 22,60 cents, female, dols. 17,20 cents; Illinois, males, dols. 29,66 cents, female, 19,48 cents; Iowa, male, dols. 24,24 cents, female, 16,20 cents; Wisconsin, male, dols. 23, female dols. 14,62 cents; California, average male and female, dols. 62,35 cents.

It will be observed that in the Western States the pay is almost invariably larger than in the Eastern States. In California, there is an obvious reason why the payment is high. I have no exact means of testing these scales with those prevailing in this country,—but I have no doubt the advantage would be in favour of the States.

There is, however, one peculiarity, and, as I think, one drawback to be noted. The schools in the States are very rarely open more than half the year. I believe this arises in a great degree from the scarcity of labour, and the necessity therefore of having the assistance of the children in agricultural operations. I have found the following to be the average time of keeping schools in the recent Reports: New Jersey, 9 months; Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 8 months; New York and Delaware, 7 months; Vermont, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, and California, 6 months; Maine, New Hampshire and Pennsylvania, 5 months; Kentucky, Indiana, and Iowa, 4 months.

The employment of female teachers is very prevalent throughout

* Tremmenheere's "Notes on Public Subjects in the United States and Canada."

before me the details of the entire expenditure of the Government of Great Britain, for educational purposes in 1856. It was £423,633, or a very little more than half that of this one State in the year 1861.*

STATE EDUCATION FUNDS.

The following is a list of the principal States having separate funds specially accumulated for educational purposes: the amounts increase almost yearly. In many cases the annual revenue is not clearly given:—

States.	Year.	Funds	Its Annual Revenue.
		£	£
New York	1861	525,095	25,669
Massachusetts	1861	317,652	13,660
Connecticut	1860	410,092	27,461
Maine	1861	31,667	
Rhode Island	1860	48,620	2,888
Maryland	1859	65,452	
Kentucky	1859	291,066	
Ohio	1861	559,248	33,971
Michigan	1861	443,706	
Indiana	1857	985,973	
Illinois	1859	921,383	
Iowa	1859	460,725	
Wisconsin	1861	491,671	
Minnesota	1862	288,000 acres of land	6,000
California	1861	£207,768	

Total Funds (besides the Minnesota lands) £5,760,118.

The value of the 87,302 school houses existing in 1850 alone must form a very large and important item. I have seen it estimated at something very considerable. The following is a very correct description of several that have fallen under my own observation:—

The school houses in cities and large towns are very imposing buildings. They are often from four to five stories high. They accommodate from 700 to 900 pupils. The rooms are capacious and well ventilated, and every convenience provided for the comfort of the pupils. The basement story consists of play-room under cover, with a paved yard, both set apart for the physical exercise of the pupils. The furnace-room for heating, is on the same floor; the other four floors contain school-rooms and common hall for assembling the pupils on arrival, and at their departure. The buildings are generally of a most substantial character, and as new ones are needed, improvements are constantly occurring, all tending to the comfort and convenience of pupil and teacher.

Another writer says:—

“As a proof how little regard is paid to expense in the fitting up of

* Encyclopedia Britt. Art. “National Education.”

TABLE.

States and Territories.	Date of Settlement.	Area in Square Miles.	Population in 1850.	Number of			Total Educat. Establish.
				Public Schools.	Academies.	Colleges.	
Alabama . .	A. D. 1713	50,722	771,623	1,152	166	5	1,323
Arkansas . .	1803	52,198	209,897	353	90	3	446
California . .	1796	188,982	92,597	2	6	—	8
Columbia, district of . .	1790	50	51,687	22	47	2	71
Connecticut . .	1633	4,674	370,792	1,656	202	4	1,862
Delaware . .	1637	2,120	91,532	194	65	2	261
Florida . .	1580	59,268	87,445	69	34	—	103
Georgia . .	1733	58,000	906,185	1,251	219	13	1,483
Illinois . .	1749	55,409	851,470	4,052	83	6	4,141
Indiana . .	1730	33,809	988,416	4,822	131	11	4,964
Iowa . .	1846	55,045	192,214	740	33	2	775
Kentucky . .	1775	37,680	982,405	2,234	330	15	2,579
Louisiana . .	1619	46,431	517,762	664	143	6	813
Maine . .	1625	31,766	583,169	4,042	131	3	4,176
Maryland . .	1634	11,124	583,034	898	223	13	1,134
Massachusetts . .	1620	7,800	994,514	3,679	403	6	4,088
Michigan . .	1670	56,243	397,654	2,714	37	3	2,754
Mississippi . .	1716	47,156	606,526	782	171	11	964
Missouri . .	1763	67,380	682,044	1,570	204	9	1,783
New Hampshire . .	1623	9,280	317,976	2,381	107	1	2,489
New Jersey . .	1627	8,320	489,555	1,473	225	4	1,702
New York . .	1609	46,000	3,097,394	11,580	887	18	12,485
North Carolina . .	1650	45,000	869,039	2,657	272	5	2,934
Ohio . .	1788	39,964	1,980,329	11,661	206	26	11,893
Pennsylvania . .	1682	46,000	2,311,786	9,061	524	22	9,607
Rhode Island . .	1631	1,225	147,545	416	46	1	463
South Carolina . .	1689	24,500	668,507	724	202	8	934
Tennessee . .	1765	45,600	1,002,717	2,680	264	18	2,962
Texas . .	1687	237,321	212,592	349	97	2	448
Vermont . .	1763	9,056½	314,120	2,731	118	5	2,854
Virginia . .	1607	61,352	1,421,661	2,930	317	12	3,259
Wisconsin . .	1836	53,924	305,391	1,423	58	2	1,483
Territories*	Minnesota . .	1849	83,531	—	1	—	1
	N. Mexico . .	1848	256,800	—	1	—	1
	Oregon . .	1843	102,606	3	29	—	32
	Utah . .	1850	120,000	13	13	1	27

* Since 1850, two of these territories have been admitted as States; viz., Minnesota in 1857, Oregon in 1859; several new territories have since been organised, and one new State, Kansas, admitted in 1861.

The following additional facts belong to this section :—

There were in the United States, in 1860, 123 Colleges and Universities : the oldest, Harvard, founded in 1636; the most modern, Chicago, in 1860. During the present century, very few years have passed without a new foundation, and some years have added two or three. Of the above, 3 date in the 17th century ; 23 in the 18th ; and 97 in the 19th.

There were at the same time, 51 theological schools—of these three were founded in the last century (the first in 1784) ; the remainder in the present.

Of law schools, there were 19, the first dating back to 1782. The others belong to this century.

Of medical schools, there were 40 ; of these, 3 belong to the last century (the first 1765) ; the remainder to the present.

For the deaf and dumb, there were 21 institutions, and for the blind 24, all founded during the present century.*

PART III.—GENERAL.

I have yet to notice some of the general considerations arising out of the condition of things already detailed, in order that my outline may be, as far as I can make it, in the space available, complete and comprehensive ; and more especially I have to describe how the vast educational machinery existing is set and kept in motion, and performs its work.

The educational idea may be said to have taken its rise in the States from the admitted necessity of some counterpoise to the power of the people in the infant stages of free government. The motive was a legitimate one, and the means have proved adequate to the end in view. But the idea has outgrown its original limit ; the utilitarian notion has become absorbed in the success which has attended its efforts ; and the people have come to love learning for its own sake, and to seek knowledge under the well-settled belief that knowledge gives them power. The future will therefore take care of itself.

“There is a growing conviction,”—said Dr. Potter to the British Association, a few years since—“there is a growing conviction that everything valuable in possession or prospect depends upon the intelligence and virtue of the people, and that no pains or expense should be spared to secure for them the blessings of more thorough education ;” and this is the solution to the policy which the individual States are now pursuing in regard to public education. Every American citizen feels a personal interest in the question.†

The system which has been followed—viz, that of public schools—

* I desire here to state that the absence of more detailed statistics regarding the educational arrangements of the Southern States arises from necessity, and not from intention. I have not their recent educational reports, and of course it has been of late quite impossible to procure them. The war is known to have interfered very seriously with their school system.

† “Journal of the Statistical Society,” Vol. 1, p. 383.

appears to adapt itself best to the nature of the Government, and the circumstances of the people. Everything is done by the people themselves. They make the State laws. They elect the education committees. They receive the reports of these committees, setting forth the amount of money required to build schools, and carry on the educational work ; and they cheerfully and promptly tax themselves to the required amount. There seems to be no sacrifice they would not make for their school system. I might say, with a modern writer, "I dislike universal suffrage ; I dislike vote by ballot ; I dislike above all things the tyranny of democracy ; but I do like the political feeling—for it is a political feeling—which induces every educated American to lend a hand to the education of his fellow-citizens. It shows, if nothing else does so, a germ of truth in that doctrine of equality. It is a doctrine to be forgiven when he who preaches it is in truth striving to raise others to his own level ; though utterly unpardonable, when the preacher would pull others down to his level."*

In this good work, the West is everywhere rivalling the East. The Germans and the New Englanders have taken possession of the mighty West, and they work at this educational question with two wills instead of one. In our list of State Education Funds it is seen that the newest of the Western States are outstripping the oldest of the Eastern ones. They have indeed the advantage of the land system to help them, but there is the will—the determination to do it, which crops out in a hundred different ways. Several of the Eastern States, in addition to their accumulated State School Fund, set apart special sources of revenue to aid the educational cause. Thus in the State of Maine, in addition to the proceeds of lands set apart specially, the banks are taxed one per cent. on their capital for the support of schools. This tax in 1861 amounted to £15,611. The towns are also obliged to raise by tax a sum of not less than 2s. 6d. for each inhabitant, as a qualification for them to receive any share of the proceeds of the public school moneys. In New Hampshire, amongst other things, the Railway Tax is set apart for educational purposes. In Rhode Island State the proceeds of auctioneers' licences are set apart for educational purposes. In Connecticut, a portion of the school funds is raised by a property tax.

These things are worth recording as facts independent of motives. Now see what the West is doing in the same direction :—

In Indiana, according to recent legislation, the school fund is made up of all funds heretofore appropriated to common schools ; also the surplus revenue, saline, bank tax, and seminary funds, all fines and forfeitures and escheats, all grants of land not otherwise specially devoted, the net proceeds of the swamp lands, unclaimed fees, and all taxes specially laid therefore. The income of the funds is apportioned to each county according to the enumera-

* Trollope's "North America," Vol. 2, p. 109.

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† "Journal of the Statistical Society," Vol. 1, p. 383.

"to collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools, and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the State information of the most improved method of conducting the education of the young, that they may have the best education that common schools can be made to impart."

This example was followed by Connecticut, in 1838, and within ten years from that date nearly all the Northern and Western States had organised a similar department.

The law with respect to the establishment of schools in new localities is much the same as it was two centuries ago. Wherever by reason of natural growth or emigration there shall be a township of fifty families, the obligation exists upon such inhabitants to provide at their own cost "a teacher or teachers of competent ability and good morals," and a school for instruction in "English, writing, geography, arithmetic, and good behaviour." Such school must be open for at least six months in the year. When there shall be one hundred families in such locality other schools must be provided, or the existing ones kept longer open.

When there is but one schoolhouse, it is often arranged that a girls' school be kept in summer and a boys' school in winter. This will explain the frequent allusions to summer and winter schools in the American Educational Reports.

When the population increases to four thousand, then there must be a higher grade of school—a secondary school or academy—where the teacher must be competent, in addition to the branches taught in the elementary schools, to give tuition in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, logic, and general history; and latterly there has been added book-keeping, surveying, geometry, natural philosophy, chemistry, botany, and the civil polity of the country, together with a knowledge of the elementary principles of physiology, hygiene, and the laws of health.

The ordinary routine is, in any new district, for the inhabitants to build the schoolhouse, hire a master, furnish wood, and tax themselves for the expenses not provided by endowment or otherwise. There is never really any lack of funds, the school tax is assessed even upon the humblest inhabitants, and they cheerfully pay it, knowing after all that it must be for their particular advantage.

There is, however, one condition which attaches to the money raised by taxes, as also to the proceeds of land set apart for educational purposes, and it is, that no appropriation is authorised to be made to any religious sect for the maintenance exclusively of its own schools. This equitable provision, I believe, applies universally throughout the country. Indeed, although the Americans are a professedly religious people, and there are, probably, as many religious sects or parties there as in this country, they have been wise enough to sink all such differences in favour of the common cause of education. The revised educational Statutes in some of the States provide that the "school committee shall never direct to be purchased or used in any of the town schools, any school books which are calculated to favour the tenets of any particular sect of Christians."

tion of scholars therein. In Iowa, all escheats, the per-centage allowed by the general Government on the sales of land in the States, money paid for exemption from military duty, and fines for breach of penal laws, are also devoted to the maintenance of public schools. In Minnesota, in addition to land grants and taxes, 25 per cent. of all moneys paid for licences for the sale of spirituous liquors, and the proceeds of fines for several classes of statutable offences are added to the county school funds.

And the principle is extending itself. What the future of American education is to be, it is impossible even to dream. But I am anticipating my subject.

General Management.—It yet remains for me to give a general outline of the administration of this great and still growing American school and educational system ;—and in doing this, I must again premise that the operations are not uniform throughout the various States. This is the besetting difficulty at each stage of my progress.

The old system of "selectmen" which answered very well in small communities, and in an easy-going age, has had to give way to "school committees." These committees are chosen annually by open voting, a certain portion going out of office to make room for the qualified persons ; by which means an endeavour is made to initiate all ratepayers into the duties incumbent on those entrusted with the education and training of youth.

The management of the schools and of the property and funds raised for education is vested in these committees, and their general duties in addition are to nominate schoolmasters ; to see that all children between five and fifteen, in their districts, attend the schools ; to see that proper examinations are conducted ; and generally to look carefully after the means taken for tuition and training in their respective districts.

In some of the New England States, these committees are required to furnish an annual detailed report on the tuition of their respective districts, making such criticisms on existing defects, and such suggestions for future improvements as they may think necessary. These reports are read in open meeting, and printed for the use of the inhabitants—a copy being deposited with the town clerk, and another sent to the Secretary of the Commonwealth.

But some of the States, more advanced in education, have gone beyond this, and appointed a special officer to look after the operations of the school law, and to advise and assist the local school committees and officers in its administration. The State of New York first adopted this course with great success. Other States created a similar office, but in some instances devolved its administration on some other department already burthened with other and dissimilar duties, and in this way encountered entire or partial failure.

In 1836, the State of Massachusetts instituted a "Board of Education" with a salaried secretary, whose business it was made

of Storey, in which the whole property was only valued at 500,000 dollars, and yet not less than 17,000 dollars were expended in one year in the erection of five new school-houses, besides the ordinary expenses of maintaining the three grammar schools and two primary schools. Such instances could be considerably multiplied.

Children are expected to begin to attend the elementary or common schools at five, or at the latest, six years of age. In order to ascertain the educable children in each school district, an annual census is made, in many portions of the States, of the children living between the ages of five and fifteen years ; and in the New England States every child between the age of eight and fourteen is bound by law to attend school for not less than twelve weeks in the year, six of those weeks being consecutive : and it is conditioned that all parents and guardians who violate this law, forfeit twenty dollars each for the use of the town. Children receiving education at home, or who from mental or bodily incapacity cannot attend, are exempt from this fine ; but the duty of the school committee is to inquire into all cases of neglect, and annually to make a report on the result.

The laws in regard to attendance are most stringent, even truants are looked after by a "truant inspector," or the police of the district, and children removing from one district to another are placed under the eye of the committee, whose consent is required to the transfer. But the stringency is not all on one side. All children, who are unlawfully excluded from public school instruction, have a right through their parents or guardians to obtain damages through any competent court, and this law applies through New England to all cases of race, colour, or religious opinion.

Gradation of Schools.—I have to speak of this subject first by way of explanation. It will have been observable that throughout this paper, there has been a confusion of terms with respect to the designation of the classes or gradation of schools, which I must now endeavour to remove. It arises chiefly from the want of a uniform nomenclature amongst the several States, but in part from the fact that the gradations are not analogous in the different States.

In the statistical section I have spoken chiefly of three classes ; viz., public schools, academies, and colleges. If the first be called common instead of public—for all are "public" in the ordinary sense of the term—one cause of confusion is removed. Then we shall have this enumeration :—1. Primary schools for children under five, the State laws generally limiting the attendance at public schools to the ages from five to fifteen, or six to sixteen : with us, these are called infant schools. 2. Common schools—called indiscriminately public schools—lower schools, country schools, elementary schools, &c. 3. Academies, sometimes called grammar schools (as they were first designed to be), secondary schools (as they are), and high schools (which is perhaps the most expressive), town schools, &c. 4. Colleges and universities. The former exist in every State of the Union. The latter term should be confined to Harvard, perhaps Yale, and at the most one or two others.

The Normal Schools for the training of efficient teachers are of

comparatively recent adoption in the States. They have become a necessity there as elsewhere, and are destined to exercise an important and highly beneficial influence over the educational future.

The theological, law, medical, military and naval, and other similar schools have their objects defined in their titles, and the number of these existing up to a recent date has been given in our statistical section. They are for the most part exceedingly well-conducted.

But the gradation of schools has to be considered in another aspect. It is, in the light we are now to speak of it, the newest phase in popular education. Not that it is really new, but that its importance is beginning to be comprehended. It becomes a necessity incident to the higher standard of education which is being set up. One class of school cannot accomplish the work required, nor is there any reason, except on the score of economy, which in the States cannot apply, that it should.

Look to the best systems on the Continent of Europe :—

In Prussia, there are three principal grades :—(1) The country school, in which only elementary instruction is given ; (2) the town school, in which some amount of mathematical and scientific teaching, as well as modern languages, are introduced ; and (3), the high school, or gymnasium, which is throughout constructed on a classical and professional basis.

In Holland the system is extended—perhaps a little too much so—and there are five grades :—(1) The poor schools, which are wholly gratuitous ; (2) the intermediate schools, in which a very small fee is paid ; (3) the town schools, in which there is a higher fee and a higher range of instruction ; (4) the so-called French schools, which prepare for active and commercial life ; and (5) grammar schools, which prepare for learned professions antecedently to the universities.*

But I do not think there is any occasion for me, upon this platform, and in this city, where everything relating to education is so thoroughly canvassed and understood, to advance one word in advocacy of the system of gradation. Its one obvious advantage is that at whatever point the educational course be interrupted, all has been done well up to that point ; and however long the course is extended, there is always some fresh interest in perspective—something yet to learn.

You, in Scotland, have practically adopted it by the facilities and arrangements of your schools. England and Wales and Ireland must adopt it, or they will be left still further behind in the great educational race.

America has commenced it ; here is the latest account from Massachusetts :—“ In all the large towns they (the schools) are graded, and the child of the poorest citizen, entering at the age of five the primary school, may pass by regular gradation and rank and attainment through the intermediate grammar and high schools ;

* *Encyclop. Britt.* Eighth Edition, Art. “ National Education.”

and, in the last-named, may acquire an education hardly inferior in extent and thoroughness to that of the colleges. If, after this course, he desires the advantages of the college or university, the State has reserved a considerable number of scholarships in the higher institutions which are at the disposal of the Board of Education; and if he or she desire to become a teacher, the four Normal Schools of the State afford the opportunity of becoming qualified without charge for instruction.* The other States are shaping themselves into the same course; it is the link required for the perfection of their system.

CONCLUSION.

The theory, upon which popular education in the United States took its origin, was based upon the dictum of the old Latin Poet:—

"Emollit mores, nec sinit esse ferus."

It civilises the conduct of men, and suffers them not to remain barbarous.

I feel almost a pang of regret in having to record this fact in the face of the horrible atrocities which at this moment are being perpetrated by the American people under the guise of Civil War. I am not going to say a single word in favour of either of the contending parties, or in relation to the issue of the conflict, but I feel it a matter of duty to declare that those who import uncalled-for barbarities into the necessary horrors of war, disgrace the education they have received—disgrace the age in which they live, and the people from whom they sprang. The history of this period will present the strange paradox of a people the most educated, yet the most vindictive, most bloodthirsty, and most inhuman. Happily, I am not to be the historian.

The one conclusion I draw from the facts I have stated in this paper, is that the end and aim of the United States Educational System, is to make the public schools good enough for the rich, and cheap enough for the poor. To accomplish this will have been to accomplish a work of which any age, and any people, might be content. It is almost within their present grasp. In the meantime, they have much to be proud of—but of nothing more than this one great fact, that at the seventh census, out of 20,000,000 of people, made up from emigrants from all nations and all climes, there were only 962,898 of these over the age of twenty who could not read and write—being less than one in twenty of the entire number. May God still bless and protect this great people!†

* Educational Report, 1861.

† The works to which I am most indebted in the compilation of this paper are the following:—"Eighty Years' Progress of the United States," in 2 vols., published at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1861; "The National Almanac and Annual Record of the United States, 1863," published at Philadelphia; the "Journal of the Proceedings of the Statistical Society;" and an excellent paper on "National Education in the United States," by Mr. James McClelland, published in the "Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, in 1860." The other authorities are either quoted in the text or in separate notes.



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High
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Number

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Shall it receive your sup-
port for that purpose?

See the article entitled
"Our Future," page 132.



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The one conclusion I draw from the facts I have stated in this paper, is that the end and aim of the United States Educational System, is to make the public schools good enough for the rich, and cheap enough for the poor. To accomplish this will have been to accomplish a work of which any age, and any people, might be content. It is almost within their present grasp. In the meantime, they have much to be proud of—but of nothing more than this one great fact, that at the seventh census, out of 20,000,000 of people, made up from emigrants from all nations and all climes, there were only 962,898 of these over the age of twenty who could not read and write—being less than one in twenty of the entire number. May God still bless and protect this great people!†

* Educational Report, 1861.

† The works to which I am most indebted in the compilation of this paper are the following:—"Eighty Years' Progress of the United States," in 2 vols., published at Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1861; "The National Almanac and Annual Record of the United States, 1863," published at Philadelphia; the "Journal of the Proceedings of the Statistical Society;" and an excellent paper on "National Education in the United States," by Mr. James McClelland, published in the "Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, in 1860." The other authorities are either quoted in the text or in separate notes.

THE
NEW ALBANY

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VOL. I ALBANY, N. Y., NOVEMBER, 1891 No. 4



ALBANY HIGH SCHOOL.

Villa Lots at Pine Hills

Albany Land Improvement
and Building Co.

41 AND 43 TWEDDLE BUILDING,
ALBANY, N. Y.



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ALBANY HIGH SCHOOL.

THE ALBANY HIGH SCHOOL.

Among the many institutions of learning for which Albany has long maintained a high reputation, its High School, the capital stone of its admirable free school system, is the one in which its citizens take greatest pride.

It does not claim, like many Albany institutions, to be the oldest, or among the oldest in the country. It is, on the contrary, quite modern, and is progressive in all its features and ideas. Conservatism and an ancient foundation are good enough in their way, but are rather an impediment in an institution of learning. We may teach ancient history, but should not practice it. All sciences are constantly progressing, and with them the science of pedagogy. We are not content to teach our boys, or our girls as our grandfathers were taught, or as we were taught. If there are any shorter cuts to learning that were unknown to our schoolboy days, by all means let the rising generation have the advantage of them. If there is anything simpler or more practical than Gould Brown's Grammar of English Grammars, by all means let the boys have it, and if there is another system that will promote the acquisition of languages more thoroughly than Ollendorf or Bullion, by all means let it be used. A comparatively new school is much more likely to permit "innovations" than an old one, and is therefore to be preferred.

Wealth and enterprise will not be attracted, nor will they remain, where there is not good education. The successful manufacturer or business man looks about him for a place to educate his children. His rising clerks and assistants are doing the same. Sioux City and Laramie, and a hundred other growing, pushing, western cities are bidding for eastern settlers. If they can offer superior facilities for education it may be the deciding argument for removal, but if, on the contrary, Albany's educational institutions can be shown to be the best, as well as the cheapest,

it will go far to prove that Albany is the best place in which to bring up a family, the best place for an Albanian, or any other man.

The Albany High School is such an institution. It is thorough, progressive and free. It is located in a fine new building, to which an addition is shortly to be constructed, and is well supplied with the best modern school furniture and appliances. Its faculty, always earnestly supported by the board of public instruction, is watchful for any improvement, either in system or in school appliance, which shall aid teachers or pupils, and while the expenditures of the school are carefully kept down to an economical basis, substantial improvements are annually made.

It would be wrong, however, to say that Albany had been, for the greater part of the century, without an institution that answered, and answered very well for the time, the purposes of a high school. In 1806, Frederick Beasley, John B. Romeyn and John M. Bradford, clergymen, made proposals to the city for the establishment of a grammar school "of such a nature that it might easily be turned into an academy." The first step required by the proposers was a fund of \$10,000. It was intended to unite all the public schools of the city in this institution. The project was quickly taken up, and the city gave a fine lot above the reservoir and built what was then esteemed a magnificent building, costing about \$100,000, which is now the Albany Academy. It was not, however, a Free Academy, such as a growing public sentiment demanded to supplement the free schools, an institution where the poorest boy and the poorest girl could get an academic education. The subject of such a school was brought up in 1853, and repeatedly agitated until in 1862, when the board of education, which then consisted of the following, John O. Cole, Thomas McElroy, William A. Rice, George W. Carpenter, Eli Perry, George H. Thacher, John Tracey, Charles L. Austin and John Hurd, discussed the question, and in

their report the importance of such an institution to supplement and complete the work of the other schools was dwelt upon in the following language :

"The board for a long period have felt the want of a High School or Free Academy, and were preparing to bring the subject before the common council when the city authorities were called upon to put forth their energies in defense of the constitution and

which they are justly entitled. We trust the day is not far distant when peace will once more bless our country, when the energies of the people, instead of being employed in the defense of the country, will again be directed to the ordinary pursuits of peaceful life, and when it will be our duty to press the importance of such an institution upon your honorable body."

When it came, however, to press-



PROF. JOHN E. BRADLEY.

the laws. It is self evident that in education, as well as in mechanics, a proper division of labor is essential to success. With a Free Academy engrafted upon our present system, its doors open to all such as have earned a permit to enter by merit, good conduct and success in the grammar schools, the means of furnishing the rising generation with a complete education will be provided and the citizens will enjoy advantages to

ing the importance, too long delayed, of a city high school, the honorable body manfully, and with great unanimity, upheld the ancient reputation of the Dutch burgo-masters for doing nothing, as chronicled by their veracious historian, Diedrich Knickerbocker. The project was lost in smoke.

The board of education, however, wisely encouraged the pupils of the grammar schools to pursue studies which properly belonged

to a high school course. Algebra, geometry and various departments of science and history were freely taught, and although little system prevailed in the conduct of this work, the instruction was sufficiently attractive to retain a few pupils in the schools far beyond what is now considered the grammar school age, and to a considerable extent the supply of teachers for the schools in the next decade came from this class.

which was destined, like the war of the Revolution, to last for seven years, was now on. The committee, as originally appointed, consisted of George W. Carpenter, Dr. Howard Townsend and John G. Treadwell; but it was found that the captain had been omitted, and as the "Continental Army" might as well have gone to the storming of Fort Ticonderoga without Ethan Allen, as for the Free Academy party to march to victory without



PROF. OSCAR D. ROBINSON.

In 1866 the old board of education was succeeded by the present board of public instruction, organized under the law of that year. A resolution, offered by Mr. George W. Carpenter, was adopted October 2, providing for a special committee of three members "to enquire into and report on the necessity of organizing a Free Academy, to be connected with and form a part of the free school system of our city." The fight,

John O. Cole, he was added to the committee. In December, 1866, an elaborate report was presented, favoring, in no doubtful terms, the immediate establishment of a Free Academy. The report concluded as follows:

"With no higher motives than strict economy would justify and approve, the state ought to provide liberally for the education of all her children. Her responsibilities upon this subject will not

be fully met until the number of our public institutions of learning bears a just ratio to the wants of the rising generation and until



CHARLES W. COLE.

over the door of each is inscribed : *'Without money and without price.'* Under the management of able instructors, faithful and conscientious in the discharge of their duties, the public schools of Albany have been steadily but surely improving, and will now compare favorably with any of similar grade in the country. * * * * Your committee are of the opinion that sound policy, a wise economy, a proper regard for the rights of those who aid in the support of our schools and yet derive no direct benefit from them, as well as the urgent claims of the rising generation, demand that our present school system be enlarged and improved by engrafting upon it a Free Academy, and this your committee most earnestly recommend."

The committee further proposed that the legislature be requested to pass a law for the establishment of the institution and the immediate erection of a building at a cost of \$50,000, the amount to be raised upon bonds to be issued by the city. The report was adopted by the board, and the bill was prepared; but first it was necessary to obtain the consent of the com-

mon council. So little had the idea of home rule, or as Jefferson described it long ago, local self government, taken root that it was thought necessary for the board of public instruction, chosen by the people to care for the education of their youths, to ask permission of the common council to petition the legislature, composed of delegates from Suffolk, from the sixth ward of New York, from Erie county and from Essex, for leave to establish a High School and for the people of the city of Albany to pay for it out of their own pockets!

The common council referred the matter to their committee on academies and schools, which reported adversely, and the council thereupon directed its committee to oppose the passage of the law before the legislature, which it did successfully.

The Albany Academy then offered to take graduates from the city schools at a stated rate per year from the city and the opponents of the Free Academy argued the economy of the measure, and urged, with great force, that the



CHARLES A. HORNE.

one course would aid a noble institution while the other course would ruin it. The short sightedness of this idea is sufficiently shown by the two institutions now flourishing upon opposite sides of the

Academy park, and both preparing to increase their accommodations for pupils.

In June, 1867, the struggle was



AUSTIN SANFORD.

renewed and the board of education again resolved "that the public school system of Albany requires a Free Academy, and that without such an institution the educational interests of the city cannot be advanced," and that the board "deem it their duty to press the claims of the public schools for a higher institution of learning, and that they will continue to do so until their efforts are crowned with success." It was Horace Greeley who once startled the country with the new principle in finance, that "the way to resume (specie payments) is to resume." It was now discovered that the way to have a High School was to start one. The board of public instruction was found to have sufficient powers, and it was immediately resolved "that the said High School or Free Academy be opened for the reception of pupils on the first day of October next," and the details of organization were provided for. The foundation thus briefly outlined, under the law of 1866, is that upon which the whole grand fabric has been built.

Difficulties were encountered in finding a substantial building, and the opposition of the conservatives

had by no means died out. Mayor, common council and police were engaged upon one side in an effort to break up the alleged unlawful and undemocratic scheme, and the board of public instruction, with the aid of parents and pupils, upon the other in defence of free education; the latter representing the public, and the public, after a contest that will long be remembered, finally won.

The High School or Free Academy was opened in Van Vechten Hall, on State street, Sept. 7, 1868, with a class of 141. The "faculty" consisted of Principal John E. Bradley, formerly principal of the Pittsfield High School, and teachers Charles W. Cole, Charles A. Horne, Miss Mary Morgan and Miss Rebecca I. Hindman. The board of education, including the four pioneers before named (James L. Babcock having taken the place of Mr. Townsend, who died in the winter of 1866), Mr. Charles P. Easton, afterwards for fifteen years chairman of the High School committee, and whose executive talents were of great value during the infancy of the school, three clergymen



THEODORE C. HAILES.

and Recorder S. W. Rosendale and a dozen invited guests attended the opening ceremonies. Recorder Rosendale was the only member of the city government present. In addition to the regular teachers

above named, Professor Samuel Morel, Leo. H. Altmeyer and Thomas Spencer Lloyd were elected to guide the students in



WM. DUDLEY GOEWY.

French, German and music, respectively. Of the entering class thirty were found to be sufficiently advanced to form a higher class, and of these twenty-seven, all young women, completed the course and graduated at the end of three years, a noble testimonial to the usefulness of the new Free Academy, and a signal proof of the wisdom of the board in insisting upon throwing open the doors of the academy to the higher education of women, contrary to the views of the city council, who would have restricted the "experiment" to boys alone.

To calm opposition, however, it was deemed wise at first to adopt a very conservative course, and a rule was adopted restricting girls to the English branches. This the press generally opposed and a public sentiment was created in favor of equal rights in education, to which the board of education gladly acceded, and (1875) the rule was abolished and boys and girls were allowed equal freedom in the choice of their studies.

It was not until 1873 that the warfare over the Free Academy ceased and the legality of the school was ratified by the legis-

lature which passed a law—not without great opposition—admitting it to the visitation of the board of regents and a share in the distribution of the Literature Fund. In August of the same year the name of the school was changed to the ALBANY HIGH SCHOOL.

The school was growing rapidly and in the next year the common council generously presented the old water works lot, at the head of Eagle street, and plans were invited for a new structure, those of Ogden & Wright being finally selected. Ground was broken for the new building September 24, 1874, and the building was completed and ready for dedication on May 5 of the centennial year, 1876.

This occasion differed widely from the gloomy day when Commissioners Carpenter, Treadwell, Cole and Babcock and the rest of the board launched their frail bark on the troubled sea of public opinion. Mayor Bleeker Banks was there, the commissioners and members of the board of public instruction and members of pretty



MARY MORGAN.

nearly all the other boards; the United States commissioner of education, the state superintendent of public instruction, and more public functionaries, clergymen and prominent educators and their

wives, their cousins and their aunts, than the platform would hold. There were profuse decorations of flags and flowers in the great hall, there was music and singing and speaking, and no end of congratulatory speeches. The young gentlemen and young ladies, all dressed and looking their smartest and prettiest, were proudly conscious, however, that they owed the success of the new High School, in a great measure, to their own endeavors, for many of them had carried from house to house, the petition which finally gained the day for the friends of the High School in the legislature.

The Albany High School is a



J. H. GILBERT.

monument to the public spiritedness of a few earnest citizens and to the pluck and perseverance of Albany's girls and boys who were among its first pupils.

The building is most advantageously situated, in a central part of the city and yet quite retired, so much so that the rumble of a wagon seldom disturbs the quietness of the place, and forming an angle of a great mass of buildings; the Capitol, the State House, the City Hall, the Academy and the High School fronting upon the beautiful square composed of the Capitol and Academy parks. Its

style of architecture is called the "domestic Gothic," more properly, perhaps, a "Franco-Belgic," since the peaked roofs, the gable ends and the dormer windows of the old Dutch style are modernized by an adaptation of the mansard roof and the stone windows and door lintels of the French. To the statistically minded enquirer it is sufficient to say, that the building is 87 feet on the front on Eagle street, and 135 feet on the side on Steuben street; that it is constructed of a lime-stone ashlar to the top of the basement, and the superstructure of Philadelphia pressed brick with black stone "trimmings" and courses of white brick. It is three stories in height above the basement and the front tower, through which passes the main entrance, is 100 feet high. The cost was about \$150,000. It is unnecessary here to describe the plan of the building. Suffice it to say that even in this day of advanced Richardsonian architecture and improved construction it is regarded as admirably adapted to the purposes for which it was constructed; it is well lighted throughout and well heated and ventilated. The sewerage arrangements are unexceptional and the health of the pupils has always been of the best.

Plans for the addition to the High School and alterations to the main building have been completed, and the work will be taken in hand during next summer's vacation, if not before. The new building will stand at the east of the present structure, and harmonize with it in architecture. To insure plenty of light and air upon all sides, it will be joined to the main building like the head of the letter T. It will extend across the full length of the eastern side of the building, nearly 95 feet, and front about 45 feet upon Steuben and Columbia streets. The basement, which will be high above the street, will furnish room for the manual training shops, and for a small gymnasium. The first floor will be devoted to offices and board room on the south of the central hall, and a fine library room in the north end, on Columbia street. The

second floor will be devoted to study halls and recitation rooms. The large assembly hall on the third floor of the main building will be enlarged to seat 1,000 students, and the whole building, when the alterations and new wing are completed, will accommodate about 900 pupils. At the present increase of school population in the city, it seems probable that the day is not far distant when a new high school, fronting upon Washington park, will be one of the burning topics of the day.

The library of the High School contains 6,650 volumes, and is not limited to the use of the school alone, but is a public free library, established under the laws of the state, and is open, under proper rules and regulations, to the use of all citizens and to the pupils of all the schools, by whom it is much used. Intimate relations are maintained with the State Library, not far distant, and pupils searching for information are encouraged to extend their researches to the larger and more generously supplied institution. Near by, too, and also under the control of the regents of the

ous departments take pleasure in assisting them to make use of these valuable object lessons.

Perhaps the school's most dis-



MARY N. ZEITLER.

tinguishing feature is its *progressiveness*. It is hampered by no traditions, and wedded to no theory. Its motto is "Excelsior." Every year something new is added with a view to the improvement of the courses of study or to the appliances in use.

Among these features none, perhaps, are of more lasting value or more susceptible of further enlargement and improvement than the manual training system, introduced in 1888. The theory upon which the teaching, as pursued in the Albany High School is based, will be best explained by the following extract from the report of Superintendent Charles W. Cole:

"A mistaken idea is prevalent as to the meaning of manual training, it being confounded with the trade schools of the country, and much of the opposition which has been expressed to the system has been upon the theory that it was designed to teach trades. Not so. It is not intended or desired to give instruction in any particular trade to the exclusion of others. Trade schools are confined to particular branches, manual training is more comprehensive and takes in all. The prime object is the



A. F. ONDERDONK.

university, are the offices and laboratories of the State Museum of Natural History, with its interesting collections, and these are freely accessible to the students, and the professors at the heads of the vari-

education of the mind, and of the hand as the agent of the mind, and to impart knowledge of such working tools and materials as are found in the great industrial pursuits of the world. To lay the foundation for mechanical pursuits, the same as our present literary system lays the foundation for professional and literary pursuits, and to be an important adjunct in all mercantile callings, so that when our boys graduate they will not be obliged to live by their wits alone, but will have the benefit of the dexterous hand directed by an intelligent brain. Instruction in the use of the common working tools does not necessarily teach them to become mechanics any more than instruction in Latin and Greek teaches them to become lawyers or physicians. Its work is preparatory, not final. If it is desired to become a skilled artisan in any trade other avenues must be entered; manual training is but the beginning. To use a much quoted expression, it is 'putting the whole boy at school,' and educating him on all sides, giving him a better mental and physical preparation for life's work."

At first, the "whittling class," as it was called, met with opposition, both in the school and without, but gradually it was found that study was not interfered with but rather assisted by the healthful exercise and that there was nothing degrading in cutting down a round stick to a square. The nobility of labor was recognized, and Vulcan was allowed standing room beside Minerva. This achievement, it is safe to say, was not less in its ultimate importance than the establishment of the High School itself. The last report of the committee on manual training (1890) says:

"The progress in this department during the past year has been very satisfactory, and has removed it from the field of experiment to that of a practical and educational success. This has been due not only to the excellent instructors in this department, but to the interest, good will and coöperation of the students. An

important step was taken during the past year in extending manual instruction to the girls in the Sloyd system of wood working and exercises in physical culture. It was at first feared there would be a lack of interest on the part of the girls; but your committee is happy to say that as one exercise succeeded another the interest increased, and that to-day our girls are enthusiastic and earnest in their efforts in this direction, and evince satisfaction when their models are completed and approved by the instructress. Careless and indifferent methods of study are corrected by the care and accuracy which must be exercised in the shop in the manipulation of the tools. * * * In the boys' department there has been steady progress on the lines marked out by the instructor last year, and about twenty-five completed models are the fruits of their labor. The work has not been confined simply to the school hours, but a number of the boys have devoted considerable time after school to shop work." On another page the committee says:

"While aware of the fact that good work was being done here we were totally unprepared for the really remarkable results that have been achieved, and, in view of them, it gives us much pleasure to be able to assure you that we regard the training as eminently successful and as a most desirable addition to the course of study. The members of this committee are, all of them, persons whose occupations require constantly the practice of accuracy of eye and skill of hand; they are continually forced to realize the lack of these qualities among people in general, for want of early training, and the difficulties caused thereby, and they are, therefore, in a position rightly to estimate the value of such discipline as the pupils of the High School are now undergoing. In our opinion the training of the eye and hand, given by this actual handling of tools and judging and shaping of materials, is a most valuable element of practical education, and we heartily recom-

mend the extension and development of the system." It is proposed to extend the operations of this class to iron working, and



GEORGE EDGAR OLIVER.

ultimately, doubtless, to work in other metals, and to steam and electric engineering.

It requires no vivid imagination to look forward to the day, not far distant, when the architects and builders of Albany homes and churches and factories shall be graduates of the High School manual training class; when builders of machinery, decorative designers and clever artists in metal work, designers and inventors shall come from this class, and that its graduates shall go out all over the country themselves the living proof of Albany's wisdom and foresight.

The Albany High School is no less deserving of the pride of Albanians for its scholastic attainments. Few schools of its rank excel it in the honors won by its graduates in the colleges and universities of the eastern and middle states. The course of instruction is complete and thorough. Nothing is half done, nothing sacrificed to "marks." The results achieved are honest and enduring. Instead, however, of relying almost wholly upon a classical course, the faculty pay special attention to the English language course, which includes a thorough study of the English language and its best ex-

pression in composition and oratory. It is the first High School of repute to adopt a special and complete course of this kind, placing the study of English on a par with that of the classics and of modern languages.

It has also lately established a course in stenography with a view, not merely to furnish the means of employment to those that study it, but primarily as a distinct means of education and as a starting point for instruction in this subject throughout other grades, in the hope that some day the use of short-hand will become universal.

Another very important feature in the High School has been its rhetorical department, especially in the direction of English composition, declamations and recitations. Its readers and speakers have attained a high reputation, and in very many contests have easily carried off the palm of victory.

That the Albany High School takes an advanced, and even leading position in the study of the English language, and makes it an applied science in rhetoricals and



ELLEN SULLIVAN.

composition, is sufficient to win for it a very high rank among academic institutions, and should make it a source of pride to Albanians.

The people of Albany are proud of their High School and take much pride and pleasure in exhi-

biting its workings to distinguished visitors. Among those who have visited and addressed the school are recorded the names of William Cullen Bryant, Hon. William F. Forster, minister of education of England and later a member of Mr. Gladstone's cabinet, General U. S. Grant, Governor A. B. Cornell, Ex-President Grover Cleveland, Hon. Charles S. Parnell, Sir Henry

examinations passed in advanced subjects was 2,342, or more than fifty per cent. greater than any previous year in the history of the school. The number of regents' diplomas granted was 43, intermediate certificates 34, and "new credentials" 106. The per cent. of attendance last year was 95, the lowest, owing to the grip, since the opening of the school. The total amount apportioned to the High School by the regents of the university since 1874 is \$48,352.75, of which \$3,528.30 was in 1891. The amount appropriated by the board of public instruction to the High School in 1891 was \$30,472.45, making a total of \$34,000.75. Deducting about \$1,000 for rent of books and tuition (from out of town pupils), we have, say \$33,000, making the total cost of education per pupil \$40.20 per annum.

The High School committee of the board of public instruction is: Michael F. Walsh, Charles H. Gaus, William P. Rudd, and James M. Ruso.

The faculty of the High School is as follows:

Oscar D. Robinson, A. M., Ph. D., Principal, Professor of Mental and Moral Science. Prof. Robinson was born in New Hampshire and was graduated from the Kimball Union Academy at Meriden, July, 1862. Instead of entering college, however, he answered President Lincoln's call for troops and enlisted as a private in the 9th New Hampshire Volunteers. He rose by successive grades to the rank of captain, and his regiment showed its hard service by having on the mustering-out rolls at the close of the war only 200 men. In 1865 Captain Robinson entered Dartmouth college, graduating in 1869, and accepting the position of professor of English literature and mathematics in the Albany Academy. Resigning at the close of the year he accepted the position of professor of the natural sciences in the Free Academy, now the High School, which was later exchanged for the professorship of Latin and Greek. Upon the resignation of Principal Bradley, in 1886, Professor Robinson was appointed to succeed him.



MARGARET I. OVERTON.

Grattan Esmond, and other members of the British parliament; also official representatives of the educational departments of France, England, Canada, Japan, Finland and other countries and many distinguished educators of this country.

The visit of Mme. Albani to the High School, April 25, 1890, was an event long to be remembered by those who had the good fortune to be present and hear her sing "Home Sweet Home" and "Robin Adair." As a souvenir of her visit she presented the school with her photograph which now hangs, suitably framed, in the office of the building.

The entering class of 1891 was 308, and the whole number of pupils on the register at the beginning of the first semester, 1891, was 758.

The graduating class for 1891 was 78. The number of regents'

Charles A. Horne, A. M., Vice-Principal, Professor of Latin and Greek. He was born in Maine and was graduated from Harvard College. He was appointed to the High School in 1864.

Austin Sanford, A. M., Professor of English Literature and Political Economy. He was born in Massachusetts, graduated from Dartmouth College, and was appointed to the High School in 1872.

Josiah H. Gilbert, Professor of Mathematics; graduated at Delaware Institute, appointed principal of school 11 1855, to the High School 1886.

Abraham F. Onderdonk, Professor of Physics and Natural Science; graduated at New York Conference Seminary, appointed principal of school 13 1859, to the High School 1886.

William D. Goewey, Classical Assistant and Professor of Oratory; graduated at Wesleyan University, appointed 1876.

Karl A. Meyer, Professor of the German Language and Literature; born and educated at Hamburg, and appointed 1886.

Theodore C. Hailes, Drawing Master; graduated from High School and appointed 1877.

George Edgar Oliver, Professor of Vocal Music; graduated from Albany Academy, appointed 1884.

John Fitzgibbons, Instructor in Manual Training; educated in the public schools, appointed 1888.

Miss Mary Morgan, Rhetoric and Elocution; graduated from the Albany Female Academy; appointed 1865.

Miss Rebecca I. Hindman, Assistant in Natural Sciences; graduated from the Albany Female Academy; appointed 1859.

Miss Mary I. Davis, History and English Branches; graduated from the Albany Female Academy; appointed 1870.

Miss Ellen Sullivan, First Assistant in Mathematics; graduated from the Albany Normal School; appointed 1868.

Miss Agnes R. Davison, First Assistant in Latin; graduated from the High School; appointed 1874.

Miss Helen A. Cochrane, Second Assistant in Latin; graduated from

the Albany Normal School; appointed 1868.

Miss Annie M. Halpen, Second Assistant in Mathematics; graduated from Cornell University; appointed 1879.

Miss Ida E. Winne, Third Assistant in Mathematics; graduated from Vassar College 1879; appointed 1883.

Miss Agnes S. Gavey, First Assistant in English Literature; graduated from the High School; appointed 1878.

Miss Mary N. Zeitler, Second Assistant in English Literature; graduated from the High School; appointed 1874.

Miss Ella M. Burnap, Third Assistant in English Literature; graduated from the Albany public schools; appointed 1869.

Miss Julia A. Gilbert, Third Assistant in Latin; graduated from the High School; appointed 1883.



JOHN FITZGIBBONS.

Miss Margaret I. Overton, Instructor in Physical Culture and Manual Training; graduated from the High School; appointed 1884.

Mrs. Rosa Ortheiler, French and German.

Miss Carrie P. Godley, Teacher, graduated from the High School; appointed 1891.

Miss Florence Horne, Teacher, New Hampshire, graduated from Vassar College; appointed 1891.

Miss Agnes E. O'Malley, Sten-

ography and Type-writing; graduated from the Albany Cathedral School; appointed 1891.

All the above, except where otherwise specified, were born in New York state.

Last, but not least, is a name which, though not borne on the High School roll, has so long been connected with the institution that any history of the High School without it would be incomplete.

Charles W. Cole, Superintendent of Schools, was the first teacher appointed to organize the High School. He was born in Albany in 1840; was a pupil in public school No. 5, attended the Albany Academy for five years, and was graduated therefrom in 1859. In the same year he entered the sophomore class of Hamilton College, graduating in 1862. In 1868 Mr. Cole was appointed teacher in the High School, and remained ten years in charge of the department of English Literature and History. In 1878 he was elected Superintendent of Schools. Mr. Cole was the first president of the State Council of School Superintendents, which was organized in 1883. The degree of Ph. D. was conferred upon him by his *Alma Mater* last June.

One word in conclusion. The Albany High School is not a "high pressure" institution. It is not one in which marks or even diplomas are the only results sought to be achieved. It is not a college, but it thoroughly fulfils the promise of its founders, for a higher institution of learning, to supplement and complete the public school system of the city. It stands in the very front rank of the high schools of the most populous and wealthy state of the Union, and it gives promise of continuing to be strong, practical and progressive.

— • • • —
A new masonic temple is one of the immediate probabilities in this city. Some legislation is needed, which failed last year through delays which left it in the grasp of the dead-lock. This year precautions will be taken, and a building fitting the importance of the great fraternity will be erected.

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TELEPHONE SERVICE.

By the 1st of next April, if all goes well, the people of Albany will enjoy a telephone service far superior to any they have ever known. They certainly ought to, for the improvements which are under way involve an expenditure of \$200,000. This includes the new building at the corner of Maiden Lane and Chapel street, the new and improved switchboard, and the new system of underground circuits. No one would be complete without the others, and all are parts of a grand scheme of betterments by which the public, as well as the company, will be largely benefited.

The long continued cry that the wires must go under ground, has at last had its effect, and in New York, Washington, Buffalo, Detroit, and many of the western cities, as well as in Albany, the work is being pushed forward. No one is now more eager to have it done than the telephone companies themselves. Their experience with mid-air lines has been disastrous in many cases. Not only has great loss resulted from storms and fires and more powerful electric currents, but the service for many reasons has been unsatisfactory, to the great annoyance of patrons, causing endless complaints and chronic grumbling, all of which is quite as unpleasant to listen to as it is to utter.

With the new system of underground wires very much of this will cease. In the first place, the wires in a district bounded by Swan street on the west, Clinton avenue on the north, the river on the east, and Madison avenue on the south will be grouped in cables and the cables run through pipes made of cement five-eighths of an inch thick, covered with boiler iron and laid in a heavy bed of concrete beneath the pavement. These ducts are reached by manholes at convenient distances. The wires will be taken from the tubes whenever necessary in groups, and either run into cellars and thence to roofs where leases can be ob-

tained, or up distributing poles, from which the wires will radiate like the sticks of a fan, and thus reach the telephones in the immediate neighborhood. There will be no parallel lines to touch or conflict with each other, or to be in

fireman. Communication from telephone to telephone will be as nearly perfect as it is possible to make it.

The facilities will be greatly increased by the new building, corner of Chapel street and Maiden



HUDSON RIVER TELEPHONE CO.'S BUILDING.

the way in the case of fire. All induction will be avoided and each wire will be by itself from the individual telephone to the central office. Wind and rain will not disturb it; it will be safe from the trolley wire of the electric railroad, and from the merciless axe of the

Lane, built expressly for the telephone company, and to be occupied by them alone. All the business of the company, including that done in the executive offices, the messenger service and that of the telephone will be conducted here. A cut of the building makes de-

tailed description unnecessary. It will be complete in every particular, fire-proof, and convenient. All the wires will enter the building through pipes.

Another great improvement will be the new switch board. The one lost in the fire last summer was perhaps the finest in the world, but the new one will be in many respects an advance upon that, and will alone cost about \$22,000.

Just which system will be adopted, Manager Uline, at present writing, is unable to say. He would be glad to put in what is called the Law system, which is the quickest and most satisfactory in the world; but it requires more intelligence and more care on the part of subscribers. It is also more expensive to operate, as it requires the full force of operators at all hours of the day and night. It does away with the call bell and the annunciator; and the person who calls up the central office speaks at once to the operator, telling her with whom he wishes to communicate; in an instant the circuit is made, and talk can begin as soon as the one to be talked to is ready to listen. There is no interruption till the message is completed; then the person at the telephone must turn a button and notify the central office that he is through. But if this notification is not given much trouble results, and there is likely to be an entanglement which it is troublesome to straighten. With ordinary intelligence and care the system is the best possible. In New York it is limited to 1,000 subscribers, to whom the rate is advanced, perhaps 25 per cent., and there are never any vacancies, as there are always applications in advance for the wires worked in that way.

Mr. Uline is not certain whether it would do as well here. If it is not adopted, another switch board will be used, in which there is less liability to obstruction than there was to the old one; and in any event this part of the service will be greatly improved.

The pipes are about all laid and bids are being received for the cables, of which there are different

kinds. The wires could probably all go under ground before snow flies, but the advantages would not be of very great importance unless the new building and new switch board were also used, and these can not well be got ready, as we have said, before next spring.

Then Albany will have a telephone service equal to any in the United States.

••••• A TOUR FOR RESIDENT ALBANIANS.

If it could be known how many reputable citizens of Albany there are who have never made the tour of the capitol, have never seen the Burns statue, and not been out as far west as Pine Hills in twenty years, the number would be astonishing. We meet with such almost every day.

And meeting such and hearing them talk, we are more and more convinced of the absolute necessity of some such publication as *THE NEW ALBANY* to inspire the community with desire to appreciate its own charms and its own advantages.

We say to such a person: Imagine yourself for once an intelligent and observing tourist, spending the day in Albany, and take yourself around to the principal points of interest. Starting from the corner of State street and Broadway, note the new and handsome bank buildings which give dignity and solidity to that noble thoroughfare. Observe that the famous old street market has been removed to equally commodious, but less conspicuous quarters; that the crawling, squeaking horse cars have given way to the swift and elegant electric motors; that two beautiful parks present their carpets of green in the square on capitol hill. View with delight the handsomest municipal building exterior on the continent; glance with interest around to the old State hall, the High school, and the dignified Albany academy. Do all this before spending two or three hours in wandering over the greatest and the grandest legislative building on which the sun

shines, an architectural monument, visited yearly by thousands from all parts of the globe. But a block away, though for the present hidden by buildings which will some time be removed to give the capitol proper elbow room, stands the Cathedral of All Saints, as yet only suggestive of its complete magnificence and grandeur, but already lofty and impressive as the first Episcopal cathedral, worthy the name, in the United States. Grouped near by are its concomitants, St. Agnes school and the Child's hospital. A step further takes you to the Hawk street viaduct, which has wrought such a miracle of accessibility for Clinton avenue and Arbor hill. Once more turning westward, the right credentials will admit you to the most fashionable and most aristocratic of the Albany clubs; then past the Babies' nursery, to the new hall, of which every Albanian is justly proud. Next to it stands the new armory, of special interest to all who care for military matters. Crossing Lark street to State, the park is soon reached. The Burns monument can be carefully inspected, for it will bear it; the site, only, of the King fountain can be pointed out; the beauties of the lake, the flowers, the terraces, the trees and the shrubbery need no cicerone; and after they have all been noted, the beautiful villas and cottages on Madison avenue will command attention during the ride or walk of a mile or more. Here the New Albany is seen at her best, and the view grows none the less interesting as Pine Hills is reached.

By this time our resident tourist will awaken to the fact that the Albany of to-day, compared with the Albany of twenty years ago, is virtually a new creation, and as he returns toward home if his bosom does not swell with pride it is because he does not deserve to live in so goodly a heritage.

There is still much for him to see. There are many beautiful residences on Englewood place, and on State street. He should not neglect the Normal college or the Jewish temple, or the com-

pleted tower of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception; or the new executive mansion. These are all points of interest to the stranger; they ought to be to the resident Albanian.

A CONVENTION CITY.

There was some effort made to bring one or two of the political state conventions to Albany this fall, but the great parties stayed away. This was not because our accommodations are not sufficient or because the place is not central and accessible, but in pursuance of policy with which fitness had nothing whatever to do.

The prohibitionists, however, having no axe to grind in the selection of a meeting place, came to Albany, and have the honor of holding the first state convention that ever met in the new hall. They were delighted with the accommodations, as well they might be, for there are none so good, all things considered, in the whole state.

Now let us make a little prediction: The next democratic state convention will be held next spring to elect delegates to the national convention. We shall be very much surprised if that state convention is not held in Albany.

THE MATRIMONIAL INDUSTRY.

To the Editor of The New Albany:

SIR—When enumerating in THE NEW ALBANY the many industries which had either been incorporated or enlarged in this city during the months of May and June, you omitted one of the most important; one in which the stock was eagerly sought for, and in which at least two hundred persons, male and female, invested heavily. I refer to the matrimonial industry.

What is more conducive to social, intellectual and financial prosperity, than to have our lads and lassies forming life-long partnerships. We certainly would be at a stand-still should Cupid take it into his head that he needed a long vacation.

By all means give the little fellow his due in promoting our city's growth.

E. M. G.

THE NEW ALBANY.

A RECORD OF THE CITY'S PROGRESS.

BRANDOW PRINTING COMPANY, Publishers,
E. A. KELLOGG, Manager Advertising Department.
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special.

HENRY P. PHELPS, Editor.

ALBANY, N. Y., NOV., 1891.

*"Look Forward and not Back;
Look Up and not Down, and
Lend a Hand."*

OUR FUTURE.

"We do not know whether we have
come to stay or not."

These were the first words of THE NEW ALBANY to its public. The fourth issue finds the question still undecided. We have done what we could to carry out the design of the publication; and we have met with much warm and hearty recognition. Some, however, have said, "It is too good for Albany; it will not last." We do not think so. Nothing is too good for Albany. It *will* last, if the business men of this city are willing, without being teased, to give it their support.

If the proposition this week submitted to them by circular letter is accepted to any reasonable extent, THE NEW ALBANY will not only continue to be published, but it will hereafter be issued once a month; it will be placed on a firm basis; a large circulation will be secured for it, and it will be made better, brighter and more influential in every way.

The proposition is one that appeals to the self-interest of those to whom it is addressed; and, all things considered, we shall be surprised and disappointed if it is not agreed to promptly and cheerfully.

But it must be cheerfully or not at all. We have said from the be-

ginning: nobody comes into THE NEW ALBANY unless he wants to come there. We think the rule a good one.

Don't you?

Meantime, it will be well, perhaps, to withhold announcements for future numbers, although we will say that a very attractive holiday number is contemplated.

The article upon the Albany High school, in this number, is earnest of what we hope to do for other educational institutions in this city; as well as for the churches, societies, clubs, military and other organizations. The illustrations of these articles, equal as they are to the best magazine work, give them a value and an interest which, we believe, will be appreciated.

One thing more: The price. It is the general opinion that fifty cents a year is preposterous. We begin to think so ourselves; and after January 1, 1892, the price will be raised to \$1. Now, then, is the time *for you* to subscribe.

A SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

Albany is at last to have a fitting memorial of her soldiers and sailors who upheld her loyal honor and that of the nation, by sacrificing their lives on the altar of their country.

Albany has waited many years to come to such a determination, and now that she has come to it, it is, perhaps, as well that she did wait, as we have the example of other cities before us, and, profiting by the mistakes of their haste, may erect a monument second to none in America. Now is the accepted time, and the project is in the hands of the people—a patriotic, loyal, grateful people—and they will see to it that the movement shall not die out.

His honor, the mayor, has appointed a committee of twenty-five respected citizens, and has formulated a plan of action, which, if

actively carried out, will give us a memorial which shall endure for ages, an everlasting object lesson, to engender and foster love of country in our own children and in generations yet to come.

But no resident of Albany county should pause and gaze at the committee, who cannot be expected to do all the work. All must put in their utmost endeavors. None can afford to remain idle. At the same time, however, each and every member of the committee should fulfil his obligation or step down and out.

It is, perhaps, a trifle premature to discuss the design or form of the memorial, or its location. The selection should not be left altogether to the committee. Every subscriber should have a voice in the matter. Many, for instance, will think it would be unwise to locate it in Washington park, on the theory that the tendency to centre all the city's embellishments in one locality, is wrong. Strangers who visit the city for a very brief season, as a rule see only the most unsightly parts of it. It should not be forgotten, that one of the greatest values of the memorial is its object lesson, and that object should be situated where it can be the oftenest seen. These conditions would, perhaps, be better subserved by an arch than by any other design. It is out of the general run, and far more sightly than either a monument or building. A certain eastern city has a magnificent arch, which, on state occasions, is brilliantly illuminated by electricity. It spans the principal highway of the town, and is a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

Albany should raise, at least, \$100,000, and how? By popular subscription, by which means a larger sum can be obtained than from any other source.

There is nothing to be said against the excellent make-up of the mayor's committee, but the committee should have been appointed in another way. Representatives from every organization in Albany should have met in convention and elected a committee. It might have been no better or

worse than the present one, but it would have been eminently representative.

All that is necessary now is enthusiasm and plenty of it, and there is nothing which will arouse more enthusiasm than a mass meeting, with eloquent speakers, patriotic music and a regular old fashioned "hurrah."

At any rate, Albany will have the memorial, sooner or later. Let us hope the former.

W. H. PADDOCK.

STIMULANTS TO LOCAL PRIDE.

If we are ever to develop the local pride which is so important a factor in the welfare of a community, we must begin with the children. There should be a chair of local history in every school. Every boy and girl should be drilled so as to answer intelligently any question relating to the men or incidents in history which have made this city famous. The emphasis should be placed on everything pertaining to Albany. It is not enough to have it understood that this is an ancient city; the fact is interesting, but there is no particular credit about it. What has been done here? Who have lived here? What has Albany given to the world to make the world richer and better?

Are the children taught these things?

For instance, and only for instance: Do they know that it was in this city that the plan for a union of the states was first proposed by Benjamin Franklin, at the congress of 1754; that it was adopted by the commissioners from seven colonies here assembled, and that although not then confirmed by the colonial assemblies, it approached very near the subsequent Constitution of the United States?

Do they know that Philip Livingston, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence was a native of Albany as was his father Philip before him, and that the second Philip was in 1746 referred to as one of the fifteen

persons in the colony that possessed a collegiate education?

Are they thoroughly acquainted with the history of Gen. Philip Schuyler, whose memory is perpetuated by a Doric column of Quincy granite in the Rural cemetery? Do they know of his friendship with Washington, of his many troubles, of the charges against him, which proved utterly groundless, of his princely hospitality which entertained both Gen. Burgoyne and Gen. La Fayette?

Can they give in detail the story of General Peter Gansevoort, who as major, was with Montgomery at Quebec, and afterwards stood a twenty days' siege at Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk?

What know they of the part played in the war of 1812 by Gen. Stephen Van Rensselaer, and by Col. John Mills, whose bones lay so long neglected in Capitol park?

And the war of the rebellion: Memorial day comes and goes, but is it clearly shown what of life and treasure Albany freely gave that the union might be preserved?

The heroes of this war are not all dead. Do the children know what was done by men who still walk the streets? Would it not open their eyes to witness a reunion, say of the Third regiment, when their old colonel, Gen. Frederick Townsend were present and to hear from eye-witnesses the story of his superb bravery on the field of battle?

Do the children remember that it was in the upper room of the Albany academy that Prof. Joseph Henry first transmitted intelligence by the magnetic telegraph? Do they appreciate the fact that it was to Albany the first steamboat was run; and that it was from Albany to Schenectady the first passenger train was regularly operated?

Do they know that among the students of natural history living in America none stands higher in the estimation of European scholars than Prof. James Hall of Albany? That among art lovers all over the world, Albany is chiefly remembered as the home of Erastus D. Palmer, the creator of

the Angel at the Sepulchre, Night, and the White Captive?

They know, of course, that one of the world's greatest songsters, Madame Albani, claims this good city as her former residence; that the great statesman, Roscoe Conkling, was born here; that Henry James, the novelist, and Bret Harte, the story teller, both claim Albany as their birthplace; that the artists, Gay, Palmer, the Hart Brothers, George H. Boughton, James McDougal, Launt Thompson, Calverley, and others, have at one time or another called Albany their home; but do the children stop to think how bright is the galaxy which may be described by the word, Albanians?

Are they made to remember the noble generosity with which the city has met the calls upon her for help in the hour of need; the great army bazaar in time of the war; the outpouring, prompt and liberal, in behalf of the sufferers from floods, in the west and at Johnstown, from yellow fever in the south, from the great fires in Chicago and Boston?

It is in contemplation of such deeds that one feels proud of the good old city, and to say with uplifted head and expanding chest, "I, too, am an Albanian."

ALBANY AS A NEWS CENTRE.

As a prophet is not without honor save in his own country, so a place hath neither importance nor renown among those who reside within its boundaries. And again, since one must go away from home to hear the news, so must one go beyond the city lines to learn the true status of Albany, and her just repute.

It is the mission of THE NEW ALBANY to present to us Albanians, "and modestly to discover that of ourselves which we yet know not of." Hence, it becomes pertinent to call attention in these columns to the fact, so widely recognized elsewhere, that Albany is a news centre second only to the nation's capital on the Potomac, and to the metropolis of the Empire State and

country at the mouth of the Hudson.

Chicago, with all its windy enterprise, its elastic boundaries and growing census roll, is not to be compared as a news source with Albany. An observation of our large dailies, whose circulation lists embrace the world, will show, during the three hundred and sixty-five days which make up the four seasons, more articles prefaced with an Albany date line than with that of any other municipality this side the Atlantic, save, only the two above mentioned. Boston, with all the spokes of culture and literary fame centering about her as the hub, is outclassed by ye ancient Dutch town at the head of navigation on the Hudson as a point of general and special news interest.

In political importance, Albany surpasses New York city, and ranks next to Washington. This may surprise and not be readily comprehended by the average, easy-going Albanian, who finds the city a quiet place of abode; but it is recognized and appreciated in every other place of importance in the United States. In more detailed attestation of this, I would cite the not generally known fact that *every leading newspaper in the country, whose circulation carries it beyond its local environment, appoints and maintains a special correspondent at Albany, to supply it with news from this point, in addition to what it gets over the wires of the general press associations.* New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco, New Orleans, Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Rochester, Baltimore, Atlanta, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Syracuse, Utica, Troy and Springfield, as well as other cities, large and small, have special representatives here, in the guise of reporters for the several enterprising journals published in them. Every paper in New York city of any importance whatever, has a special correspondent here, and some of the Gotham dailies, together with one Buffalo paper, have two reporters stationed here the year round, to see that they are kept

informed of affairs at Albany. All this special provision for "covering" (as the journalistic phrase has it) Albany, is made notwithstanding the maintenance here by the Associated and United Press Associations of their two special agents, who act in conjunction with the Albany papers, which are bound by their contract with the press association to which they belong, to furnish Albany news to be sent to the papers of other localities.

Nothing could more clearly illustrate the prominence of the Capital City of the Empire State, or more fully demonstrate its importance.

HARRY W. SMITH.

CHANGE THE NAME.

There is one thing the trustees of the new hall should lose no time in doing, and that is change the name. It is overloaded. "Harmanus Bleecker hall" is a stumbling block and a rock of offense. Out-of-town printers invariably get it wrong, and we doubt if one person in ten, right here in Albany, is absolutely certain how the first name should be pronounced.

Every one, of course, has great respect for the late Mr. Bleecker, and no one would wish to detract in the slightest from the honor due him for making the noble structure a possibility; but it does not lessen the credit to omit his first name. Without any particular reason we have named our beautiful pleasure ground after the father of his country, but that is no reason why we should call it George Washington park. There is such a thing as being a little *too* precise. It is not necessary to always refer to the Bard of Avon, as William Shakespeare. There is no other person of that name with whom he is likely to be confounded. There have been other men named Bleecker, but none likely to be mistaken for Harmanus.

The only objection to dropping the prolonged patronymic is that there has long been a dancing room known as Bleecker hall, the owners of which do not care to change it. This being the case

the proper thing to do is to drop hall as well as Harmanus, and call the new building Bleecker Lyceum. This is at once dignified, scholarly and appropriate. Great and noted theatres have been known as the Lyceum; and no amusement manager would hesitate a moment on account of that name, but there are many who greatly dislike the reputation of playing in any kind of a "hall."

As belonging to a literary association the name Lyceum is particularly appropriate. Prefixing to it the name of the giver, does him all the honor possible, and there you have

BLEECKER LYCEUM.

HARMANUS BLEECKER HALL.

Look at the two as they appear in print; pronounce the two and say which sounds the more euphonious? Can there be the shadow of hesitation? Ought there to be any time lost in making this simple, but important change?

We think not.

ALBANY HARDWARE AND IRON COMPANY.

Hanging, carefully framed, in the office of the Albany Hardware and Iron Company, is an interesting relic of by-gone days, in the shape of a faded bill of goods, made out and paid for before the present century was born. It reads as follows:

ALBANY, 22 Dec., 1797.

Mrs. CUYLER

Bought of SAMUEL HILL,

At his Wholesale and Retail Hardware Store,

Sign of the Golden Hinge.

North side of State street, near the Dutch church, has just Imported a large assortment of Iron mongery, Cutlary, Sadlary, & Hardware in Gen'l.

1 pair brass Candlesticks,	-	14
1 doz gen bone knives and forks, 15s.	-	1-10
1 Pair gen bone carvers,	-	9
1 " steel snuffers,	-	2-6
1 Coffee mill,	-	10-6
1 Ivory top caster,	-	10
1 Jap knife tray,	-	5-6
1 silver 4s., 1 bread basket 5s.,	-	9
Sundries,	-	1-3
		£5-13-6

April 7, 1798. Received Pay for Samuel Hill,

JOHN GODFREY.

Samuel Hill is gone, Mrs. Cuyler is gone, John Godfrey is gone, the brass candlesticks and steel snuffers are gone, the Dutch church is gone; but on the very spot where swung the Golden Hinge a hundred years ago, Ironmongering is carried on to this day. Hither, in 1851, came the firm of Davidson & Viele, which had been organized six years previous, and for forty-six years, in all, Maurice E. Viele, either alone or in partnership, conducted and built up a business which some years amounted to \$500,000 annually.

The progressive spirit of the New Albany, calling for younger blood and more of it, the Albany Hardware and Iron Company (incorporated June 17, 1891) was organized with a capital stock of \$125,000, and June 25 following, bought and took possession of the business. That it was to be conducted on the same general lines which, during half a century, had won for it so good a name, was assured by the fact that seven of the old attaches are stockholders in the new concern, while the others are well-known Albany capitalists and business men.

The officers are Charles H. Turner, president; William B. Wackerhagen, secretary; and James K. Dunscomb, treasurer; who, with Peter Kinnear, president of the Albany Billiard Ball Company, Seth Wheeler, president of the Albany Perforated Paper Company, and J. Townsend Lansing, real estate owner and lessee, constitute the board of directors.

The president, Mr. Turner, has been identified with the old house of Viele for over twenty years, as buyer. He began the hardware business in his native place, New London, Ct., thence going to New York, where, for several years, he was buyer for a large jobbing house, and then came to Mr. Viele. Here the experience which results from holding a most responsible position has been added to a natural aptitude for business, much native energy, and a happy faculty of being able to impress every one favorably at first sight, and to deepen the impression at each future meeting.

Mr. Wackerhagen has also been

connected with the store a long term of years, and his thorough knowledge of the business, also extensive acquaintance with the trade and its requirements, resulted in his election to the secretaryship of the company.

The treasurer, Mr. Dunscomb,

plies for manufacturers and workers in tin and iron, etc., etc. Indeed, the variety kept is something astonishing. Such a business requires plenty of room, and it is found in the principal stores, each five stories, at 39, 41 and 43 State street (as shown in the cut), supplemented



brings to the house a record of nine years in the Mechanics' and Farmers' Bank, and eight years as financial partner in the wholesale lumber business, an experience which well equips him in his position of financial and office manager.

The company deals in general hardware, bar and sheet iron, sup-

plies for manufacturers and workers in tin and iron, etc., etc. Indeed, the variety kept is something astonishing. Such a business requires plenty of room, and it is found in the principal stores, each five stories, at 39, 41 and 43 State street (as shown in the cut), supplemented

by two buildings on Norton street and the public market building on Beaver street. The territory of trade lies chiefly in New York, Western Massachusetts and Vermont; and, in short, for a hundred miles or more in any direction, the Albany Hardware and Iron Company is looked upon

as a depot of unfailing supplies for everything in this particular trade. The inducements they offer purchasers are such as cannot be excelled; and, it is doubtful whether they can be equalled. Nothing is now to be gained by going to New York for hardware. When the manufactories were all in Connecticut, as they were once, New York city was naturally headquarters, on account of its location; but of late years, since almost as much is manufactured west of Albany as east of it this condition has changed, and jobbing is done in centres other than in New York city, and nearer the point of consumption. No centre for the hardware trade is better located than Albany. It has the advantage of cheap freight by river; six railroads lead out from here; while rents and expenses of doing business are far less than in New York.

Since the organization of the new company business has taken a fresh start; the old customers are held almost without exception, while new ones are gained every day. Altogether, this combination of a long and well established business, with sufficient capital to keep it moving easily and advantageously, is one of the most soundly hopeful enterprises in Albany.

THE NEW ALBANY is a credit to Albany. A credit to the spirit of progress that is stirring among the business men of the city. Enteringprising, neat and artistic as the first number was, the last, the "Fair number," is more so. With a fine photo-print of Rosa Bonheur's "Horse Fair" on the cover, its *pièce de resistance* is an article on the New York and New England fair, illustrated with photo-prints of the fair buildings and life-like portraits, also from photos, of President Pine, Secretary Cuyler and Superintendent Terrell. The city hall, state armory and the market place complete the city pictures, while the cuts in the advertisements will show many Albanians much that they never knew before about Albany enterprises.—*Evening Journal*.

THERE IS NOTHING LIKE RUBBER.

It is a saying, as old as Esop, that "There is nothing like leather." It originated, we believe, with an old tanner, who made the remark when the common council was considering what was the best method to defend the city. Probably he wanted a government contract.

But the saying gave way a long time ago to the words "There is nothing like rubber." And, indeed, its uses have become so multifarious and manifold, that it is generally believed capable of being converted into any form or article other than food! And even that exception does not hold good, for is there not the luscious gum drop, and the boarding-house beefsteak?

Caoutchouc has been known to civilization since 1736. The first patent was taken out in 1797. In 1823 Mr. Macintosh, an Englishman, patented the water-proof fabrics which have since borne his name, with a small m. The famous Goodyear patent for vulcanizing rubber was issued in 1844, and was followed by about sixty more.

Meantime, rubber is made into almost everything; the infant takes his sustenance through it, tries his teeth upon it, plays with it in a dozen forms; as he grows older he walks about in it! The man uses it in the arts and in the trades; he dresses himself in it; it is his shield, his comfort, his tool; druggists' shelves are filled with it in all manner of ingenious appliances; the wheels of great factories would stand still without it; babies would cry their eyes out, and the whole world die of wet feet, if this single article of commerce were obliterated.

Now, then; for rubber in all its forms, and particularly in the shape of gossamers, mackintoshes, and all sorts of garments, for druggists' sundries, for children's toys, for all the unending catalogue, at lowest prices, in best variety, go to the Goodyear Rubber house, No. 39 Maiden Lane.

BRANDOW PRINTING COMPANY.

THEIR NEW ESTABLISHMENT IN
MAIDEN LANE.

In calling attention to their new establishment in the National Express building on Maiden Lane, opposite the Union depot, the BRANDOW PRINTING COMPANY beg leave to state:

That they have taken a long lease of these commodious quarters.

That they are admirably adapted for the purpose; close to the business centre, easy of access, light, cheerful and conspicuous, and fitted

That this is made possible by an entirely new plant; presses, type and furniture, all selected with the greatest care from the latest patterns and fonts, making the new office complete and modern in every particular.

That they have made arrangements whereby they can not only do the ordinary work of a printing house, but will also write, edit, and prepare copy; make sketches and photographs for illustrations, and engrave the same by the new and wonderfully successful processes.

That they propose to make a



NATIONAL EXPRESS BUILDING.

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JOURNALISTIC NOTES.

The advancement of Mr. John A. Sleicher to the head of the N. Y. *Mail and Express*, is another feather in our city's cap. Mr. Sleicher is a resident of Albany, owns a house here, and was only a short time ago editor of the Albany *Evening Journal*, and president of the Albany Press club. Some good men have left the *Journal*. Chas. E. Smith went from there to the chief position on the Philadelphia *Press*, and thence to be minister to Russia; William H. McElroy to be a leading writer on the New York *Tribune*; Thurlow Weed Barnes to a congenial partnership in the great book publishing house of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston; and more recently James A. Waldron to important literary work in New York.

Fred. W. White, the well known Albany newspaper man, has gone on a western tour of observation and comment. On his way to the Pacific he will stop in Denver to assist his oldest son in launching a weekly paper in that city, similar in design to Albany's *Capital Chips*.

In giving honor to whom honor is due, it must be said that the movement for a soldiers' monument should be credited, in large degree to Maj. William H. Paddock, who first on the *Argus*, and subsequently on the *Press and Knickerbocker*, has made it the subject of much earnest and effective writing. And he keeps it up with a persistency and enthusiasm that augurs well for ultimate success.

Harry Smith, correspondent of the New York *Sun*, contributes to this number of THE NEW ALBANY, a suggestive article upon Albany as a news centre. The subject may well be enlarged upon at some future time in a more personal vein. There is meat in it.

The proposed consolidation of the Albany *Times* with the Albany *Evening Union*, which will probably be effected before this number is issued, is one of the most important movements in the newspaper line that has taken place in this city in a long while. The *Times*, although started some years before, was not really a newspaper until Mr. Callicot became the editor a little over twenty years ago. Its editorial page has since been considered one of the brightest in the state, and certainly no Albany paper has been so frequently, or so widely quoted. The *Union* is younger. It has gone through the usual vicissitudes of early age, including several changes in editorial management and proprietorship. It has at length come into the hands of the well-known newspaper man, Mr. John Henry Farrell, who has given it a home and an equipment second to none. It has already become very popular, and now that there is to be added to the business capacity of Mr. Farrell the editorial ability for which Mr. Callicot is famous, the *Times-Union* has before it a most promising future. Its course, politically and otherwise, will be carefully watched throughout the country.

The September issue of THE NEW ALBANY magazine is a perfect gem. The book contains many fine pictures of the principal buildings of the city, and the articles are interesting and to the point. The book is neat, legible, and in every sense perfect. Mr. Phelps is to be congratulated upon this edition of THE NEW ALBANY.—*Press and Knickerbocker*.

The third number of THE NEW ALBANY, the useful publication edited by Mr. Henry P. Phelps, has been issued. It equals in interest and excels in artistic execution either of the previous numbers, which were gems in their way. The present number is devoted to the coming New York and New England fair, and appropriately bears as a frontispiece a cut of

Rosa Bonheur's familiar "Horse Fair." The article on the fair is illustrated with views of the buildings and good portraits of Mr. James K. Pine, Col. Jacob C. Cuyler and Col. Wm. H. Terrell. There will be no better souvenir of the fair than this issue of THE NEW ALBANY. It also contains views of the capitol, public market (a most seasonable selection) and various public and private buildings. Mr. Phelps's well-known good taste is to be traced in all the reading matter, both editorial comment and miscellany, and it is a pleasure to look through even the advertising pages, which are examples of the service art can render to business. Such a publication as THE NEW ALBANY in itself testifies to an enterprising, cultivated city.—*Argus*.

This number of THE NEW ALBANY is printed upon the new presses of the Brandow Printing Company. It has been delayed a few days in order that this might be done. Their establishment is now in complete order for business, and they expect to give better satisfaction than ever.



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THE
INFLUENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS
IN THE MAKING OF THE
ENGLISH COMMONWEALTH
AND THE
AMERICAN REPUBLIC,

WITH
NOTICE OF WHAT THE PILGRIMS LEARNED IN HOLLAND, THEIR TREAT
MENT BY THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE, AND ANSWERS
TO CRITICISMS MADE UPON THE PROPOSED
DELFSHAVEN MEMORIAL.

A PAPER
READ BEFORE THE BOSTON CONGREGATIONAL CLUB,
MONDAY EVENING, OCT. 29, 1891,

By WM. ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D.,

CHAIRMAN OF THE DELFSHAVEN MEMORIAL COMMITTEE, AND PRINTED BY
THEIR ORDER.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE writer in sending forth this pamphlet, written since his return from a visit to the Netherlands and the eastern counties of England, cannot thank by name all the kind friends, Dutch, English, and American, who have given him hints and suggestions, or answered his questions. He must, however, especially thank the Rev. Daniel Van Pelt, D.D., of New York City, Rev. John Todd, D.D., of Tarrytown, and Douglas Campbell, Esq., of Schenectady, N. Y. In the forthcoming volume of the latter, entitled "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America," will be found fully argued, illustrated, and, I believe, demonstrated, certain claims as to American history at which the writer has in this paper only hinted. It is a matter of regret, also, that lack of time, space, and money does not permit the writer to increase the size and expense of this pamphlet, by giving in full the references to books and authors which furnish the basis of authority for the statements made. In a course of reading begun some years ago, when pastor of the Reformed Protestant [Dutch] Church in Schenectady, N. Y., and lately refreshed by a visit to Europe, the writer has consulted the historians of English Nonconformity, and the local annals of the eastern counties of England, as well as the standard writers, such as Hume, Macaulay, Hallam, Freeman, Stubbs, Green, Carlyle, Froude, Maine, Masson, Goadby, Thorold Rogers, de Gibbins, Sotherton Burns, etc., besides the old authorities, Strype, Parker, Hollinshead, Lord Somers, and many pamphlets and monographs of the period between 1580 and 1640. In matters concerning Holland,—the dark side of the moon to most English and American historians, since among the great number of writers on English-American, or Congregational history, a critical knowledge of Netherlandish history is as rare as a Dutch library or shelf of books in an American or English college,—I have little obligation to acknowledge to writers in English. Besides consulting Carleton, Davies, Brodhead, Steven, Motley, the Pilgrim autographs, and the printed works of the great illuminator of Pilgrim history, the late Dr. H. M. Dexter, I have depended on the statements of Wagenaar, Boer, Groen Van Prinsterer, the Ryks (national Dutch) archives, and the help so kindly afforded me by Dutch scholars both in the Fatherland and in America.

Unable to boast one drop of either Dutch or Pilgrim blood, the writer herein sets forth, as a student of history, some of the results of his reading and reflection, and of those experiences of the Dutch in America, Japan, and Europe, into which Divine Providence has led him. The outcome of researches, necessarily critical in their nature, is a more profound admiration and reverence for the Pilgrim Fathers and mothers alike, and the attainment of full faith in both the absolute truth and personal sincerity of Governor Bradford's two messages from Plymouth to the Dutch at Manhattan, March, 1627, and Oct. 1, Anno 1627: "Acknowledging ourselves tied in a strict obligation unto your country and state, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we find, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy under your most honorable Lords and States;" "for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us." What if it has taken "nearly two centuries and a quarter to discover" what the Pilgrims knew and Bradford has recorded? If it is a terrible and costly thing? Not so thought the Rev. Dr. Richard Salter Storrs, in his lecture on "The Pilgrim Spirit," Boston, December 18, 1888, he said: "A monument marks the spot where the people of New England at Plymouth, on a spot near which the Pilgrim Fathers are lying, that neither he nor I can move, I mean, proposed, on the spot of the first meeting from the Old World to the New. The two should stand as the two pillars of the American Republic, standing on a base that were as resonant from the past as the two pillars of the temple of Solomon. The two pillars were of reverent remembrance to the people of the Dutch Republic. 'Plymouth' is on the hearts of all the hearts of man and the hearts of the people of the world." W. F. G.

Mr. President and Members of the Boston Congregational Club:—

ON the 24th of February, 1889, your servant was appointed by the President of this Club, Mr. Charles Carleton Coffin, chairman of a committee of five gentlemen charged with the inauguration of an enterprise designed to do honor to both the Pilgrims and their hosts in Holland. Efforts were at once made to enlist public interest and support of the enterprise. Criticisms, however, came from an unexpected quarter, and historical questions were raised which, for their settlement, required an examination of the sources of authority. There were special reasons existing then, which no longer obtain, why the prosecution of the Delfshaven* Memorial enterprise should remain in abeyance. The Committee of the National Congregational Council, charged with the erection of a tablet to the memory of John Robinson, to be affixed to St. Peter's Church in Leyden, had not yet finished their work. The right of way was therefore cheerfully accorded to those who had first proposed to honor the noble, self-effacing pastor and leader.

For the settlement of the historical questions raised by critics of the larger enterprise inaugurated by this Club, it was necessary that those who defended it should not be content with second-hand opinions, but form their judgments independently, after examination of the sources of authority. Accordingly the writer made a special trip to the Netherlands and to the eastern counties of England, spending a month in each of these countries, seeking new facts, and refreshing the memory, also, of a line of readings begun some years ago and continued to the present time. The result has been the confirmation of judgments to which, as a student and independent investigator, he came some years ago.

Waiving all further introduction, I shall enter at once upon my theme, which is, The Influence of the Netherlands in the Making of the English Commonwealth and the American Republic; the outlines of which are as follows:—

I. The influence of the Netherlands upon England generally.

*The modern spelling, Delfshaven, is used in this paper.

II. Upon that part of England from which the settlers of New England almost wholly came; viz., the eastern counties.

III. Upon the Pilgrims while in Holland, with answers to special criticisms.

IV. Upon the tens of thousands of Englishmen, whether refugees, soldiers, merchants, or scholars, who lived in the Dutch Republic from 1580 to 1640.

V. Upon Cromwell, his army, the English Parliamentarians, and the temporary Republic, or Commonwealth.

VI. Upon the Puritan settlers and political life of New England.

VII. Upon local, state, and national government in this American Republic, both in the colonial and the constitution-making epochs, with a final glance at the relations between Holland and the United States.

At the opening of the sixteenth century, when in 1509 Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the contrast in wealth, culture, and civilization between England and the Netherlands was as much to the disadvantage of the former, as the contrast in point of political and commercial importance is to-day the reverse.

Then in the fine arts, music, civic architecture, painting, science, learning, agriculture, inventions, organized industries, navigation, finance, political science, and local freedom, the people of the Netherlands were among the leaders of Europe. Feudalism, which had so long checked the growth of popular liberty elsewhere, had taken less hold of Holland than of any country in Europe. In Frisia, the original home of the Anglo-Saxons and the largest of the Dutch provinces, it had never been known. In other parts of the Netherlands the development of town life, in the form of municipal republics, checked the growth of feudal tyranny. The walled cities, so much richer and more numerous than in England, were fortresses of local freedom. Hallam well says that "their self-government goes beyond any assignable date." The clergy had never been allowed to become one of the estates of the realm, so that the Dutch were saved from spiritual tyranny petrified in the form of a king, or house of lords, or legislature. In all Europe the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* was the rule. The Dutch were the first to reverse this rule, that the people must be of the same religion as the

ruler, and to declare that the ruler must be of the same religion as the people. They were the first to stand for the principle, and to fight for it and secure it, "No taxation without the consent of the taxed." They were the first to teach, by revolt against despotism, that power, under God, originates with the people; that government exists for nations, and not nations for government. In many respects Holland is the land of first things in modern Christian civilization. Here art was first made the servant of the home, glorifying the things of common life, and the people rather than kings and nobles. Here science was made the quick heritage of the multitude. Here religion and reformation were not the possession and work of princes and aristocrats, but of the masses. Here, first, to cite a few out of many examples, were practiced wood engraving, and the cheap illustration of books, the weaving of linen underclothing, the reform of the calendar, and the abolition of witchcraft; here were invented the pendulum clock, the telescope, spectacles, and a host of modern comforts.

Besides this growth of scores of little municipal republics, checking, first, feudalism and then arbitrary rule, the exceptional dissemination of books, of common-school education, and of the Bible in the vernacular, explain largely why, in the sixteenth century, a strong republic sprang up in Northern Europe, federal, Protestant, tolerant, and free.

Through the wonderful activity of that fraternity of teachers, begun about 1360, called the Brethren of the Common Life, the Netherlands had the first system of common schools in Europe. These schools flourished in every large town and almost in every village, so that popular education was the rule. The Netherlands, as soon as they became a republic, insured their spiritual independence by immediately establishing institutions of education. They founded universities in Leyden, Francker, Groningen, Utrecht, and Harderwyck. Soon after movable types were invented Holland became the printing office of Europe, and the home of vernacular, as well as of classic learning. The Bible was translated as early as 1477, the same year in which the National Parliament, or States-General, first assembled. As soon as it was translated it was printed and widely circulated. Before ever there was a Bible printed in England, the common

people of the Netherlands had bought and read twenty-four editions of the Dutch New Testament, and fifteen editions of the entire Bible. The Bible was thus not in manuscript, inaccessible to poor men, or furtively copied in scraps and portions, but within the reach of all. There was no other nation in Europe so saturated with Bible ideas, and this fact explains the religious history and political energy of the Dutch. The Netherlands furnished the first martyrs of the Reformation, as well as the greatest number. Esch and Voes were burnt to death as heretics, July 1, 1523, forty years before the first under Bloody Mary of England, and their praises were sung by Luther.

This general reading of the Bible by the quick-witted and serious people who had conquered the sea, and won the mastery over nature in art, industry, and science, made them also hate tyrants and love self-government. True, it also made many sects besides the State Reformed Church, and among these first organized in power were the Anabaptists,—one of the most misrepresented of all bodies of men, persecuted by Protestants and Catholics alike, and only now vindicated by modern research. Out of the Anabaptists sprang the Baptists and the Quakers, two of the most democratic denominations, under whom two of our freest and noblest American States—Rhode Island and Pennsylvania—were settled. The Anabaptists—that is, the re-baptizers—were all Congregationalists in church polity. Each church was a unit and a republic by itself, their only officers being pastors and deacons; while the Mennonites, who originated in Holland, were not only Congregational in polity, but the foundation principle was what is now the cardinal doctrine of American political life—the utter separation of church and state. Persecuted by all state churches, their children found toleration in Pennsylvania, where they produced, in their “Book of Martyrs,” the largest and the finest piece of printing and bookmaking ever done in the American colonies. We shall, further on, try to show that not only this idea of the separation of church and state, but nearly all the political institutions peculiarly American, came out of Holland, and not out of England.

In brief, in the sixteenth century the common people of the Netherlands, owing to their great mechanical, agricultural, and nautical skill, their intelligence and their diversified industries,

were—what we like to say of Americans to-day—the best fed, the best clothed, the best educated, and the most religious people in the world. The Dutch were Calvinists, and, somehow, Calvinism never breeds despotism or poverty. Motley, in telling their story, grandly as he has done it, has practically left out the mainspring of all—the Dutchman's intense faith in God. Motley is too much of a partisan not only for the Dutch against the Spaniard, but of one school of Dutch writers. Above all, Motley is dramatic, and the very brilliancy of his antitheses and rhetoric blinds the average reader to the moral grandeur of the facts he arrays. In spite of Motley's prodigious industry and superb learning, he is the slave of one author, the Dutch historian Wagenaar, while there are large stores of evidence and authority into which he never looked. Some of his subjective judgments, the result of his prejudices, will not stand as the verdict of dispassionate history.

Contemporaneously, England presented a marked contrast with the Netherlands. She had a population of but two and a-half millions. Only one fourth, even, of her arable land was cultivated, the remainder being wild, sterile, or fallow land, woods filled with wild beasts, or a great stretch of marsh and fen, which included six eastern counties of England. Only one kind of farming was practiced, the grain being planted one year, and the field allowed to lie fallow for another. The root crops were unknown, and so were garden vegetables. Of her twenty-six cities, London and Norwich were the chief, the former having no more than 100,000, and the latter about 5,000 people. Her only industry for centuries had been wool-raising, which had been sent to the Netherlands to be woven. Her hemp, flax, and hides were exported for manufacture by the Dutch. The people were ignorant and poor. Learning was confined to the church and the court, both of which were ordered by a king who had cast out the Pope, and made himself Defender of the Faith. Whereas in Holland the confiscated abbey lands, monasteries, and church funds were applied to common schools, universities, and hospitals, in England they were distributed among the king's favorites, the nobles and the State church. The people were oppressed by land laws made in the interest of the nobles; for feudalism in England, spite of Magna Charta and so-called Parlia-

ments, was deeply rooted in English soil, and the manor system made the farmer a sort of serf. The old common lands were rapidly going the way they have since about all gone—into the hands of the nobles. The food of the common people was chiefly pork and grain, for table vegetables were unknown, and leprosy and scurvy were common. Their clothes were of coarse homespun woollen, or linsey-woolsey, for the finer sorts of woollen cloths came entirely from the Netherlands, and even the first rough woollen cloth was not woven in England until Netherlands weavers were imported, in 1331. Such luxuries as brick houses, underclothing, or table linen were known only to the rich, though common enough across the Channel. Indeed, the ordinary English name for table and body linen was “Holland”; while the very names Lisle thread, Diaper, Duffels, Bombazine, and a score more of textiles, being names of places across the Channel, show their origin.

In England the Bible was not popularly known or read. Wyclif had, indeed, translated the Scriptures out of the Vulgate Latin into English; but, being in manuscript, were never printed until hundreds of years afterwards, and then only as a literary curiosity for scholars. Wyclif’s translation from the Vulgate was practically unknown to the people in their homes, for poor men could not afford to buy a manuscript book at the cost of a year’s wages. Indeed, in the strict modern sense of the word, which suggests printing and diffusion, Wyclif’s Bible was not even published. Further, even in manuscript it was prohibited by law, in 1408. Indeed, Wyclif himself did not become a pronounced opponent of the Pope until he had visited the Netherlands, under direction of John of Gaunt who re-introduced still large numbers of Dutch weavers into Eastern England, where for centuries the word “weaver” and “heretic” were synonymous. Even the Lollards, who took their name from a society in Antwerp, were largely found in those eastern counties in which the Flemish and Dutch farmers, dike-builders, brick-makers, reclaimers of land, and weavers were most numerous; so that even in the first flush of the coming Protestantism in Wyclif’s time, we find the Netherlands’ influence discernible. When, however, the king, and nobles, and state churchmen had cast on it the odium of Wat Tyler’s rebellion, and crushed out the Lollards by persecution, Wyclif’s Bible became a curiosity, and the promised reform

movement a memory. When finally the Protestant Reformation, which is ours, and the printed Bible—the English Bible that we know—came into England, it was through Erasmus the Dutchman, Luther the German, and Calvin the Frenchman; while the Bible that got into the hands of the people was not from the Latin or based on Wyclif, but made direct from the Hebrew and Greek by Tyndale, who was tracked by the English bloodhounds and garroted. The editions of Tyndale's New Testament smuggled into England, were printed by Dutchmen on Dutch soil. When, finally, a printing press was set up and the Bible printed in England, research shows that the foreman, compositors, and pressmen, just as in the case of Caxton's, a generation or two before, were Dutchmen. It must not be forgotten, either, that the grand outburst of the English intellect in the Elizabethan era was the fruit of culture on pagan lines, even as the government of this time was essentially despotic. It was part of the Renaissance, not of the Reformation which was built on the open Bible. For wherever the Protestant Reformation was a movement of the people, there was no episcopacy, but the Reformed church, or Presbyterian government. Wherever the Reformation was the work of kings or princes, the form chosen was episcopacy, or Lutheranism. In science, too, England was far behind the rest of Christendom; for even Bacon, with all his overrated learning, was the victim of many superstitions, including witchcraft, and the idea that the sun went round the world. Even down to 1752 England was in her calendar, like Russia to-day, eleven days behind the rest of the civilized world.

In political and religious freedom the status of the English was far before that of the people of the Netherlands. Magna Charta, in which after ages have seen so much, was an episode of feudalism. Its obtaining was not the work of the common people, but it was demanded by a confederacy of barons, or tenants-in-chief of the crown. In the event of Runnymede, June 15, 1215, a company of feudal proprietors redressed their grievances of feudal tenure against the royal prerogative. Indirectly, indeed, Magna Charta made for the good of the people, and set the supremacy of the law of England over against the will of the monarch; hence it was in after ages grandly used as a precedent of liberty. With the Magna Charta, whose chief glory was won

in after centuries, grew up the English Parliament, which had, however, in the days of Henry VIII., become as to power a memory,—a matter of archæology, rather than living force. The Parliament that to-day rules England was born later, in the struggles of the Puritans with the Stuart kings, Charles and James.

It was for their Bible printing and reading, their sturdy Protestantism, and their doctrine, that power comes from the people, and their insistence upon “no taxation without consent of the taxpayer,” that Philip II. of Spain began, in 1561, the Inquisition. It was for these that, in 1567, he sent the bloody Duke of Alva with the finest infantry in Europe, and the first army equipped with muskets, to begin those persecutions that made the martyr roll of the Netherlands crimson with one hundred thousand names. For years the iron heel of Spain seemed planted on the neck of the little country. Then, by the tens of thousands, the Netherlanders fled to lands adjacent. This tremendous exodus did not stop until the seven northern provinces, led by brave little Holland, formed the first United States in a federal republic; and drawing sword against the Pope and the Spaniard, threw away the scabbard, and gave the world the first great example of successful revolt against tyranny. It is successful precedents that rule the world.

Where did these Bible-reading Protestants, skilled mechanics, farmers, engineers, inventors, polished gentlemen, and learned men settle? Many in Germany; many lived at Embden, where flocked the English refugees driven out by Bloody Mary, and where election by the written ballot was the rule; but most of them in England. In open boats, braving the dangers of the stormy North Sea and English Channel, they fled to hospitable England that had then no mechanical industries worth speaking of, and that wanted them. They swarmed into the southern, but more numerous in those eastern counties already mightily leavened by previous emigrations of Dutch and Flemish weavers, brick-makers, dike-builders, and reclaimers of the fens. In a word, they planted themselves in those very counties which later became the hotbed of nonconformity, the hearth of the new faith, the ash heap of the Protestant martyr fires, the cradle of Congregationalism, the recruiting ground of Cromwell's Ironsides and army, and the home of probably three fifths of the settlers of New England.

It is true that of this great immigration, numbering perhaps one hundred thousand, besides Flemish and Dutch, there were thousands of Walloons and Huguenots. There were many, also, who came mainly for trade and gain, but the vast majority were refugees for conscience' sake, as truly as were later the Pilgrims to Holland. This, also, is certain, that among them were thousands of Anabaptists, whose polity of church government was purely Congregational. Coming from Embden and Friesland, of which we know the features of local government so well from Ubbo Emmius, and where, especially in the choosing of church officers, the method was by the written ballot, these despised and persecuted people brought with them some of the practices and principles we now value as though they were entirely of New England and American origin.

In detail, it may be said, these Protestant refugees settled in London, Canterbury, Colchester, Maidstone, Sandwich, Dover, Hastings, Rye, Winchelsea, Romney, Hythes, Sheffield, Yarmouth, Hatfield, and a score of smaller towns. More numerous than anywhere else, they established themselves in Suffolk and Norfolk and the counties adjacent. The region around Old Boston, in Lincolnshire, "the capital of the fens," which were drained by the Dutch, is still called "Holland." Burns, in his "History of the Protestant Refugees in England," mentions fourteen towns—all of them reproduced in New England—where the Dutchmen were numerous. They drained the fens, built dikes, reclaimed land and settled on it, taught and practiced hydraulic engineering, scientific farming, introduced garden vegetables, and taught the curing of herring. We find them introducing window glass in the dwelling houses, and stained glass windows in the chapels and cathedrals; the making of iron and steel at Sheffield; the manufacture of felt and beaver hats; and the invention or improvement of pottery and porcelain from native English clay. But more than all else, the weavers brought or made their looms, and thus introduced the arts of dyeing, coloring, and various textile industries. They made lace from Antwerp thread at Honiton, and established factories in other lace towns in various shires. They invented new styles and sorts of textures, and at once a new vocabulary of dress-stuffs appeared in English speech, out of which, from names curiously changed, or mispronounced, we can almost construct a map of the countries adjoining England.

To give some idea of this influx of skilled labor into England,—remembering that the figures possible to attain by enumerating only the town populations are necessarily far below the scattered total, and that the smaller groups are left out,—we note that there were (not of the old immigration of two centuries before, but fresh Protestant refugees) in 1553, 15,000, and in 1562, 30,000 Netherlanders in England. In 1568, of 6,704 foreigners in London (which then had a population of less than 100,000), 5,225 were from the Netherlands. In Canterbury two thirds of the population were from the same country. In Norwich, in 1571, there were 3,925 Dutch and Walloons, and in 1587 there were 4,679. “Before the end of Alva’s rule,” says Davies, “there had quitted the Netherlands 100,000 heads of families.” Of this number, with their households, between 80,000 and 100,000 persons came into England. The direct influence of these refugees on the English people was seen in this—that each foreign workman was compelled by law to take and train one English apprentice. This law sent, probably, fifty thousand English boys and young men to school, not only in industry, but in republican ideas and liberal notions.

These refugees, as English historians acknowledge, achieved the industrial revolution of England. They laid the foundation of that commercial and manufacturing supremacy of Great Britain which is to-day the envy and wonder of the world, and which has changed the character of the islanders from that of shepherds and agriculturists to that of machinists and manufacturers, and which has made England the richest country in Europe. The fens of Eastern England became a garden. The introduction of table vegetables and the cultivation of winter roots, enabled an acre of land to support double the number of human beings living off it. One direct result of this, as Prof. Thorold Rogers proves, was that the population of England was quickly doubled. The Dutch discovered the uses of clover, and introduced the so-called “artificial grasses,” making the life of the English farm laborer richer, amazingly improving the breeds of sheep and cattle, and increasing mightily the comfort of human life. The plough in its modern form is a Dutch invention; so are the uses of turnips, potatoes, and the root crops by which, instead of the old custom of letting land lie fallow a whole year, the same meadow can be twice cropped in one year. By copying the horticultural, agri-

cultural, and stock-raising methods of the land which boasts a cow to every human inhabitant, the population of England was not only doubled, but scurvy and leprosy were banished.

Why is it that most of the names of things in and on a ship, in the kitchen and dining room, of garden vegetables, of clothing, of commerce and organized industry, are in so many cases Dutch, and were more numerous so in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? Simply because they were direct importations from Holland. Besides these comforts of life, there was no fine art of painting in England or Scotland until Holbein and Van Dyck brought it there. The Dutch invented oil painting, and "the first smile of the republic was art." So far as we have oil paintings of New England worthies, they are from Dutch easels. In science and invention, what would be left of "Whewell's History of the Inductive Sciences" after all references to the Netherlands are taken out? London is now the financial center of the world, having snatched the scepter from Amsterdam; but originally the Bank of England was founded by men whose names seem taken from a Dutch directory.

In theology, queen of sciences, what does not England owe Holland from Thomas à Kempis, author of the "Imitation of Christ," to Kuenen, one of the ablest intellects of Europe? Erasmus, the great humanist, the literary king of Christendom, was at Oxford as early as 1498, and at the zenith of his fame spent five years mostly at Cambridge. It was he who introduced the study of Greek in England, and first taught the peerless language in an English university. How mighty his influence was, is seen even to-day, for his scepter touches us yet. In America, and Great Britain, and all the English colonies, with very slight changes, Greek is pronounced as if it were common Dutch. It was the Dutch Erasmus that gave to the world that edition of the Greek New Testament which all the reformers of every country studied; which more than any other one thing—humanly speaking—produced the Protestant Reformation. For over three hundred years this Dutchman's edition of the Greek Testament has been the received text of the original of our English New Testament, as well as of Luther's German. It was this Dutchman who translated it into pure and elegant Latin which first departed widely from the Vulgate, and thus became the chief corner stone of the

Reformation. After all criticisms are made on Erasmus, it is hard to see how there could have been any Protestant Reformation without the work he did. Erasmus was one of the direct fruits of the great school system of the Brethren of the Common Life in Holland.

Systematic theology as the Pilgrims and early Puritans knew it, apart from Calvin, was made in Holland, and perfected at that only ecumenical Protestant council, held at Dordrecht, in 1619, which Robinson attended, and at which Dr. Ames, so persecuted by the English hierarchy and denounced by King James, was received, honored, and employed by the Dutch, in spite of King James and all his bishops. One of the strong ties binding the Dutch and the Pilgrims together in congenial friendship, was their common adherence to the identical system of theology.

Still further, we must look to Holland for the origin and growth of that Biblical theology which is now everywhere supplanting systematic. Coccejus, the Leyden professor, is its acknowledged father. He founded his theology on the Bible alone, without consulting Augustine, Calvin, or any but inspired men. Many of the framers of the Westminster Confession and Catechism, and of the leading Congregational ministers of England, received their education at Leyden or Utrecht during the seventeenth century, then the finest universities in Europe, one of them educating two thousand English students.

Why are Cambridge and Oxford so different—the one so progressive, the other so reactionary? Is it any wonder that Cambridge, which is right in the heart of these eastern counties of England, which in the fourteenth century were thickly planted with the Dutch weaver-heretics, and in the sixteenth century were overrun by the republican and Bible-reading Protestants of the Netherlands, which was almost reborn under Erasmus and John A'Lasco, his pupil, which was served by the great Dutch professor of history, Dorislaus should have begun to be, and should still continue to be, the center of liberal ideas? Oxford, in the midland counties, has always been royal, conservative, and reactionary; while Cambridge has been parliamentary, liberal, and progressive. Among her sons in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were Tyndale, and the leading Nonconformists and Independents besides the Congregationalists, Robert Browne

and John Robinson. Oxford educated champions of episcopacy, and the ecclesiastics of the Established Church. Cambridge, right in the heart of the Netherlands influence, trained the Pilgrims, Puritans, and Liberals. Of seventeen most prominent New England clergymen in the New England colonies, fourteen were trained at Cambridge, and of eighty known names the majority received education at the same place.

The mention of the names of Browne and Robinson stirs the heart of every Congregationalist. The question is at once asked, to the answer of which noble scholars have devoted years of research, Where lay the fountain of the sacred fire? Did it first burn in their own hearts out of the Word, or were there other Bible students who before Browne had churches Congregational in polity, and free from the State?

It has been said, by those who think that the mere suggestion that we, either as New Englanders or Congregationalists, owe anything to the Dutch, is "a fancy in the face of history," "a pleasing fiction," something to be scoffed at, that it is all the more suspicious, that it has taken two hundred and seventy years to find out such obligation. Possibly so; but then, as matter of fact, it took two hundred and thirty-nine years to find even the place whence the Pilgrims came. From Scrooby, and Bawtry, and Austerfield, even the very fact of the Pilgrims' emigration, or of their ever having lived there, had faded out. No tradition survived, or was locally known, until reverent American research on the spot informed the people, and reproduced the past. Even in England, within fifty years, when a picture of the departure of the Pilgrims in the Speedwell from Delfshaven was hung up in the corridor of the House of Lords, it was labeled, "Departure of a Puritan Family for New England," even though the painter declared he had taken his ideas from Governor Bradford's own writings. Only after repeated protest to Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope, were the words "Pilgrim Fathers" substituted for "Puritan Family." Even now in the painting on the wall of the Lords' corridor on the ship sailing from Delfshaven, is the word "Mayflower," instead of "Speedwell." It is only within very recent years that the popular confusion, even in American minds, of the term Puritan and Pilgrim has been partly clarified; and it is yet on Forefathers'

Day a frequent phenomenon when orators, supposed to be scholars, seem hopelessly mixed, and become amusingly hazy, on the subject. Some things which we know about the Bible, about history, about truth, do not get discovered until after thousands of years. Do not critics of Congregationalism say it is a modern invention? We who read the New Testament know better; but then, it is a fact that Congregationalism was practically rediscovered when the Greek language rose from the dead with the New Testament in her hands. Who first rediscovered it, the Dutch Anabaptists or the Protestant English?

Only recently have English historians begun, in writing the history of England, to look beyond the sea, and to link insular to continental history. The history of the United States has not yet been written except by New England historians, who have a tendency to forget, or do not like to know, what New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia have done. Even yet, in the eyes of English historians, republics are not quite respectable. English historians draw roots, precedents, comparisons, from monarchies,—Germany, France, Italy, Spain; but republican Switzerland and Holland they scarcely notice. So our historians copy English models, and think that in our political development we are English, and the fruits of English life alone, instead of the movement of continental Europe. They say we are an English nation, and they attempt to derive our institutions from England, notwithstanding that our institutions which are most truly American were never in England. The story of Holland's direct influence on the English-speaking world is an omitted chapter.

Where is the historian of England, or of the United States, or of New England, or of Congregationalism, who shows critical acquaintance with the details of Dutch history? Do not most New England writers take what Washington Irving himself confessed was his own coarse caricature of the early history of New York as actual fact, and rely upon Diedrich Knickerbocker for "local color"? What American college has in its library a set of the works of Dutch historians? Rarely is an American professor of history at home in the language and literature of the one republic which was the training school of our nation's founders and the "great example" of our revolutionary and constitutional fathers.

The story of the Dutch influence upon the English Commonwealth cannot be traced in those Acts of Parliament, archives chronicles, and state papers which make the usual staple of the historian. This powerful influence was not phenomenal ; it came without observation, with no noise of trumpets, but rather like the dew, or sunshine, or other things less noticed than a meteor or a thunderstorm. It may be likened in lesser degree to that Christianity of whose history in the second century we know so little, which yet transformed the Roman Empire. A knowledge of the facts in the sixteenth century once obtained, is like an electric search light all along the track of English and American history.

Brethren, it may be that we Congregationlists owe something even more directly to the Dutch ; that we inheritors of the New Testament polity are debtors to the Barbarians as well as to the Greeks, to the Dutch as well as to Browne and Robinson.

To my mind it is more than probable that our American Congregationalism was borrowed, in germ, at least, from these Dutch refugees in England. We do not assert, or positively claim, that Robert Browne got his ideas of Congregationalism from these Dutchmen, but this is what the facts show ; viz., that all through Suffolk and Norfolk, and especially right in Norwich, where Browne lived and taught, were Dutch Anabaptists, whose government was Congregational in form. Each congregation of the Dutch Anabaptists and Mennonites was a distinct church, a republic by itself, holding, besides many things we do not hold, substantially to the same order as that of the Baptists and Congregationlists of to-day. They had so held these principles before Browne was born. Living in England, where the Established church was all-powerful, they paid their taxes, furnished substitutes for military service, but kept intact their ideas of religious freedom.

Right where the fire was already kindled in England, there was our flame lighted and thence the torch borne. Remember, that in Bloody Mary's reign, from 1563 to 1567, of two hundred and eighty martyrs, the burnings were in general most numerous in the towns overrun by the continental refugees ; such as Maidstone, which furnished seven, and Canterbury forty, and Lewes seventeen, while seventy, or one fourth of the whole number burnt,

came from the woolen and weaving districts of the eastern counties. Beyond the parts overrun by the Dutchmen, this New Testament "heresy," or martyrdom because of it, was rare. When, later, Robert Browne lived and preached in Norwich, the Dutch and Walloons then numbered one half of the population, and the Anabaptists were having their ears cropped, their noses sliced, or were burnt alive in the castle ditch right under Browne's windows, while he daily lived right among them. So, also, John Robinson, who held a charge in or very near Norwich, had hundreds of these Congregational Anabaptists all around him. Certain it is that in the eastern counties of England, and right out of the midst of the Netherlands influence, English Congregationalism arose, and here English Congregationalists multiplied.

Another point to be noticed about the rise of Congregationalism, as well as of nonconformity generally, is, that the vast majority of these New Testament heretics were poor men of the humbler classes. Not only do the historians Strype, Hollingshead, Hopkins, and others tell us this, but the bishops, their critics and enemies, expatiate on the fact that these heretics are cobblers, weavers, feltmakers, dyers, and other mechanics and wage earners, or, as they said, "such trash,"—in other words, the very men most closely associated with the Dutch Anabaptist mechanics and workingmen who overran the eastern counties. In those days there was no need of the discussion about "the church and the workingman." The workingmen made the church.

Let us look further, and note that a noticeable strain of English blood flows from this immigration. Thousands of these Dutchmen and other refugees, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries, changed the pronunciation and spelling of their names, translated them into English, or otherwise Anglicized them beyond all recognition, and were merged into the great ethnic composite of the English people. Thousands of their children, also, married and remained in England. The prevalence of certain family names in these eastern counties is to-day, even were there no other testimony, strong evidence of a powerful Netherlands infusion. It has been remarked by the great authority in genealogy, Mr. Savage, that over eighty per cent of the original settlers of New England could trace their descent to the eastern counties of England. He might have added, that

going farther back in time they could trace them, in a considerable number of cases, to Dutch immigrant ancestors.

When one of several of the companies of English Brownists, or Congregationalists, at Gainsborough and Scrooby, called to face persecution, imprisonment, and death, sought refuge and asylum, where did they look? Where save to Holland, in which they heard there was "freedom of religion for all men"? How had they heard it? From the thousands of Hollanders in England, because the news of the Dutch declaration of independence of Spain and the story of Leyden, of the toleration afforded even to Jews at Amsterdam, was already a generation old; perhaps from English wits and politicians who sneered at the very idea of toleration; from Bradford himself, who had been in the Netherlands when a youth. So they fled to "the States,"—that is, the United States of the Netherlands. At Amsterdam, "Brownists Alley" is still so named, and there stands yet their humble meeting house. The Scrooby company, led by Robinson, after a year in Amsterdam left their quarrelsome brethren, and found welcome, honor, peace, and comparative comfort in eleven years' residence at Leyden. There they lived during the truce with Spain, and before the war again broke out the best part of them were on their way to America.

What did these Pilgrims learn in the Dutch Republic? How were they treated? How were they trained during those pregnant years from Scrooby to Cape Cod, when, as precious oil in the hands of the Almighty, they were poured from vessel to vessel, until beaten, refined, pure, their light was kindled to shine on forever?

We do not know all that we should like to know, but this is certain: The leaders and most forceful men among the Pilgrim company, as the municipal records in the townhall of Leyden still show, became citizens, paid their taxes, and took advantage of the common schools and the municipal privileges. They thus received practical, political education in a republic. Many, probably nearly all the original Scrooby company, learned to speak and read Dutch fluently. Some of them married Dutch wives, and thus a noticeable strain of Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood. Exercised and sensitive on all questions relating to soul and body, God and man, searching heaven and earth, sacred and

classic history, for precedents relating to the ruler and ruled in government, they learned much. Holland was then the foremost school of political science, so far as government was exhibited in a republic. In this country, and at this time, and right before the Pilgrims' eyes, men were trying the experiment of self-government, and to make a nation out of states as varied in elements as Massachusetts and South Carolina. The forces of Calhounism under Barneveldt, and of Lincolnism, or union and central government, under Maurice, were contending in death grapple. They saw the people and the Calvinists were always with the House of Orange, who stood for the union; while Barneveldt and the Arminians stood for state rights and secession. At the same time the Dutch were fighting their Gettysburg in home politics, they were arming for another twenty-eight years' fight for life against the Spaniard. Grotius was writing his epoch-making book on international law, which, more than any other uninspired writing, taught national righteousness and the duties of countries one to another; while from the presses of Leyden and other Dutch cities were issuing books that described and analyzed, gave the history and philosophy, both local and national methods of government, in the one republic of Northern Europe, in which at that time were living most of the political and military leaders of the men who settled Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania. The time when Englishmen were numerous abroad, and in a republic, too, was the time of Holland's richest fruitage of political science. Even in the matter of loneliness, the Pilgrims in Leyden were lonely only as they chose to be lonely. There were in the same city an English church a few yards from their meeting house, and one hundred and thirty-five English families resident. Englishmen—soldiers, travelers, merchants, ecclesiastics—were all around them. Probably an average of ten thousand British subjects dwelt in the Netherlands during their stay. They lived under the shadow of the greatest university of Europe, that matriculated over two thousand English students in the seventeenth century, of which their own Robinson, and Brewer were members.

What they learned we do not know fully; but these high-souled men, wide-awake to all good influences, lived in a good school. Surely it was a kind Providence that kept these

founders of New England eleven years in a federal republic. Let us see what things, what institutions like those in this republic of ours, they had daily before their eyes.

1. They lived under a national religious establishment, which, though a State Protestant Church, something like that of England, yet, unlike England's, tolerated other faiths, even Roman Catholic and Jewish when exercised in private houses privately; and to all Protestant sects and congregations, especially the English, furnished places of worship when regular, formal application was properly made therefor. They enjoyed, also, what Milton later plead for,—the liberty of unlicensed printing. They enjoyed the benefit of the free schools for their children. While the English political church emissaries were all the time prodding the Dutch government to molest them, the Dutch government, often defying King James, quietly sheltered the Pilgrims.

2. They lived in a land where they could buy, hold, and sell land in fee simple, which they could not do in England, with its entail and primogeniture, manor system and semi-feudalism; and they lived in a land where deeds and mortgages were registered.

3. They lived under a system of local self-government which had its town meetings, with its written ballot and its municipal representation in the state or provincial legislature. In every court was the public prosecuting officer, named the "*schout*," or what we call the "district attorney,"—the accused having the right of counsel for defense, and money indemnity paid to the acquitted person wrongly accused. Both the jurisprudence and the prison system of Holland, as they saw, were vastly in advance of what they had actually experienced in England.

4. They lived under a republic of united states which, with all its defects, had a written constitution, the Union of Utrecht, or of the Seven United States of Holland, framed in 1579, and for two hundred and fifteen years appealed to as the supreme law of the land by the Supreme Court of Holland. In that republic, whose motto was, "In union there is strength," and whose flag was the red, white, and blue, the stadtholder, or president, ruled, his powers defined by the written compact, so that he could neither expand into a dictator nor dwindle into a figurehead. We grant it was not, nationally, a constitutional democracy like ours,

but a confederation of sovereignties ; but, in its municipal life all Holland was intensely republican ; and it was the city life that most affected the English dwelling in the country. The national legislature, Congress, or States General, like ours,—for ours is copied directly from it,—consisted of two houses ; one the Senate, representing sovereign states, and having the treaty-making power, and the other a popular assembly representing the people. The freedom of the press was guaranteed, and limited only as ours is limited. The Pilgrim printers published freely, but the line was, in 1619, drawn at scurrilous and slanderous books, and until they were suspected of printing those they were absolutely unmolested. Complete independence of the judiciary was the rule. In a word, that which we count most peculiarly American, existed in the heroic days of the Dutch Republic, before the eyes of the founders of Massachusetts. A detailed examination shows that our American political institutions, when compared with those of the other nations of Europe,—classic, mediæval, or modern,—are more like those of the republic of the Netherlands than like any other. We do not deny that this federal republic of the Netherlands, compared to ours, was a crude and weak affair ; that even its privileges and liberties, when set by the side of those with us, which have been won after three hundred years experience in the New World, seem small ; but for that time they were wonderful. For, far ahead of the nations in toleration and freedom, the Dutch were ridiculed by other nations as being eccentric, as introducing dangerous innovations in government ; yet, in spite of contempt and ridicule, these men of the United States of Holland persevered, and thus gave the precedent of success for all time, and the cue to the English Commonwealth and the Revolution of 1688, and to the American Revolution. Successful precedents govern the world.

How were the Pilgrims treated by the Dutch individually, and by the Government ? We answer, “ The hospitality of the free republic of Holland was generously bestowed.” We shall now give proofs and answer criticisms.

1. The Pilgrims did not get free food, clothing, rent, or use of a church edifice when it was not asked for. They were not treated, they did not wish to be treated, as paupers, but as men, and their leader as a scholar. What was most precious to them

they received. Theirs was in full what England denied them,—life, liberty, freedom to worship God in their own way, and the pursuit of happiness. The measure of freedom, toleration, and protection granted them was equal to that which the Dutch Government bestowed upon their own people.

But some have said, "Not so; this idea of Dutch hospitality is a pleasing fiction," "a fancy that is in the face of history," and we have no money to waste on a monument at Delfshaven or anywhere else to perpetuate such a fancy. Special criticisms have been made upon the project of this Boston Congregational Club to erect a memorial in honor alike of the Pilgrims and their Dutch hosts at Delfshaven, where the dikes were cut to relieve Leyden, and whence the founders of New England sailed to America.

Most of the criticisms made refer to the acts of *individual* Hollanders; and the original writings of Bradford, Winslow, and other Pilgrims have been put, by the critics, under the microscope to find one single passage that could be made to seem like complaint of the Dutch, and harsh treatment by them. The search has been made in vain. The Pilgrim writers dwell much on their own straitened *condition*, on their reasons for leaving Holland, but have only gratitude and kind words for the hospitable people and goodly land that sheltered them. Let us consider these criticisms in detail.

1. After an English sea captain had already deceived and betrayed the Scrooby men, they engaged at Hull a Dutch skipper to meet them on the Lancashire coast and carry them to Amsterdam. True to his word he appeared punctually, despite the risk he ran; for both the Pilgrims and the Dutchmen were breaking the law of the land in attempting unlicensed emigration; *i. e.*, to get out of England by the way of the underground railroad to the Canada of that day. After part of the men had got on board, the armed police of King James appeared in the distance. What should the Dutchman do? In any event he must lose his profits. Should he lose his ship, too, be cast into prison with all his crew, and, further, surrender up those Pilgrims who were already on board to prison, and possible death? Even the men of the Pilgrim company left on shore, with the exception of a few who stayed with the women, ran away to save themselves. Of the conduct of the Dutch captain, in such a case, judge you.

2. It is said that Robinson's company in Leyden "was not allowed to have a meeting house."

Answer. The profound researches of Dutch scholars, archivists, and historians, backed by the labors of American specialists and men of research, have failed to find any trace of a desire on the part of the Pilgrims to have a meeting house at the gift of the government. They made no application for a place to worship in. We know that other Protestant congregations, asking, received. Consistent with their intensely Separatist and Independent principles, they preferred to be by themselves, pay their own rent, and ask no favors. All who believed in Christ could have a church, or house of worship, if regularly applied for; but the Pilgrims would not recognize a State church. "They stood on their own legs." They were true to their own principles. Heartily in sympathy with the Dutch Calvinists in theology, they differed with them on the question of church polity, and declined all ecclesiastical favors. They even criticised freely certain Dutch customs, such as the election of church officers in rotation, instead of for life, which their descendants have since almost universally followed. The Dutch churches elected elders and deacons for a term of years, not for life; the American Congregationalists now do the same. In making answer to this objection, as in others, the defense of the Dutch is the defense of the Pilgrims, also, for the Pilgrims were nobly consistent.

3. It is said that while Rev. Robert Durie, pastor of the English church in Leyden, had to wait only a year before being admitted to the privileges of membership in the University, John Robinson had to wait five years and a-half for the like privilege,—that is, free tuition, free use of the library, large personal and municipal privileges, and almost unlimited free beer and wine, in an age when the hot drinks of modern life, tea, coffee, and chocolate, were unknown.

Answer. No one except the omniscient God now knows whether Robinson was obliged to wait, or voluntarily waited. When, however, it is remembered that Robinson had come from the quarrelsome Brownists of Amsterdam, and lived two years in Leyden before having a permanent house or becoming a property owner, there may have been good reason why the Leyden University kept Robinson waiting—even supposing they did, of

which there is no proof. Both Robinson and Brewer were admitted to the Leyden University, and reaped great benefits from their privileges. The number of members or fellows of the University was necessarily limited, for with membership went other valuable accessories which illustrate old-time Dutch hospitalities, but which could not be indiscriminately lavished on strangers. As in most continental universities, members were excused from the liability of ordinary citizens to have soldiers billeted upon them in case of siege or other need, to take their turn at the night watch, and to contribute to public works or fortifications; while in case of arrest or accusation, they were free from the jurisdiction of the town authorities. All these were matters of great advantage, as we shall see presently. Further, the hospitality of the Dutch was generously bestowed in that they were made the recipients, free of town and state duties, of two tuns of beer every month and ten gallons of wine every quarter; that is, twenty-four hogsheads of beer and forty gallons of wine every year. As tea was not known in England until 1610, and coffee until 1652, and the word "temperance," as limited to the matter of drinking, was unknown in any European language, the use of beer or wine was considered a necessity at the table by both Englishmen and Hollanders. Think of twenty-four hogsheads of beer and forty gallons of wine to each one of the Pilgrim University Fellows! And yet we are told that Dutch hospitality to the Pilgrims is "a pleasing fiction," "a fancy in the face of history."

4. It is charged that "during all the residence of the Pilgrims in Holland, the conduct of the Dutch Government towards them was modified by its craven fear of offending his High Mightiness King James the First of England"; and that it was "in some measure in consequence of this sharp eye kept on them from England, and the sensitiveness of the Dutch to it, that our fathers suffered as severely as they did in Holland," etc.

This we deny. Charge these Dutchmen of this heroic age with other faults, but not cowardice. They had no "craven fear" of either the Pope, the Devil, Philip II., or James I. The exact contemporaneous words of Bradford, quoted by the critic, do indeed refer to the caution which the Dutch took to avoid offending their Protestant ally; for Holland, the little Protestant republic, was, like another David, fighting almost alone the battle

of liberty against giant Spain. Indeed, the Netherlands republic was, as Principal Fairbairn so eloquently acknowledged at Leyden, fighting England's battle; yes, and she was fighting our battles, too. She stood for Protestantism, freedom, toleration, humanity. She sorely needed England's help and sympathy, just as in our days of war, when the Alabama was about to be let loose from British port, we needed both in our struggle with secession and slavery. We, too, were careful not to give offense to England during our Civil War. We wanted her help. We feared not with the coward's, but with the fear of a brave man who knows his cause is just. We hesitated to displease Great Britain, but we had not for a moment, any craven fear of her: and when Charles Francis Adams said to the Queen's representative, "It is needless to remind your lordship that this means war," he had fear, but neither he nor we had any "craven" fear.

So the Dutch republic of which Benjamin Franklin declared, "in love of liberty, and bravery in the defense of it she has been our great example," had no craven fear of King James. Both republics of united States, Dutch and American, had just exactly that kind of fear which the Greeks, using the word only of gods and heroes, call *eulabeia*. Barneveldt gave this royal coward, pedant, and persecutor to understand that he had better mind his own business, and let Dutch affairs alone. The representative of the United States of the Netherlands in the seventeenth century did exactly what the envoy of the United States of America did in 1862. For the life of the republic they shrank not, even during their struggle for life, from the menace of war.

5. In the alleged cases of the Danish professor, Vorstius, and of Dr. William Ames, of Norfolk, whom Young, in his *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*, mistakenly imagines were deposed and persecuted by the Dutch at the instigation of King James and his minions, the facts are the reverse of those stated and repeatedly copied. In the case of Conrad Vorstius, an Arminian in office at Leyden University, it was the Dutch theologians of the State church who deposed him from his professorship on account of heresy, and the Synod of Dort that banished him. In any event, having made King James umpire in the dispute, the Dutch controvertists were bound to abide by the umpire's decision. The persecution of Dr. Ames, the military chaplain and Puritan refugee,

was wholly an affair of the English church, and the Dutch had, so far as known, nothing to do with it. Living in Leyden, Sir Horace Vere made him chaplain, but the English Episcopalians forced Vere to dismiss him. Without asking King James' permission the Dutch at once made him a professor at Franeker, and later gave him a pension, and chose him clerk of the Synod of Dort. He died of a cold contracted after a flood in Rotterdam, profoundly lamented by the Dutch, who had defied King James in lavishing honors upon him.

Again, and again, and again the Dutch went contrary to King James' will, and metaphorically snapped their republican fingers under his monarchical and heresy-smelling nose. So far from any craven fear, these Dutch would have fought the Englishman as well as the Spaniard and the Pope, and sunk their land under the waves, rather than truckle to this royal enemy of the Pilgrims.

6. It is stated that "when the Pilgrims had made up their minds to emigrate to the New World, and the Dutch made them 'large offers' to settle in the New Netherlands in America, their experience had been such that they do not seem ever seriously to have entertained that proposition, but 'decided not to meddle with ye Dutch.'"

This is untrue. The facts are, that John Robinson himself, Feb. 12, 1620, first made the proposition to the Dutch merchants of Amsterdam to go and settle in the New Netherlands. His purpose was much larger in scope than the later enterprise in the Mayflower. He asked for Dutch help, promising to cross the ocean with four hundred families from Leyden and England. Naturally, however, this self-effacing pastor and far-seeing statesman, as well as accomplished theologian, wanted, while on the new continent, military protection guaranteed against the papist Spaniards.

In other words, the experience by the Pilgrims of the Dutch, and of the hospitality generously bestowed upon them, was such that they wanted to go under the order and protection of the red, white, and blue flag of the United States of the Netherlands. These are facts attested by the Dutch documents at Albany, New York, and in Brodhead's and Winsor's Histories, as well as in Bradford's own testimony of "large offers." Unfortunately for the credit of early New England historians, these facts are

not found on their pages. And this is the reason why some students of American history who go to the original authorities, do not accept as the final verdict of history the defective and distorted statements of those who somehow forget, or ignore, what other countries beside England have done in the making of our nation.

Why did not the Pilgrims accept the liberal offer of the Amsterdam Company of free cattle and transportation to the region of the North River? For one reason, and, so far as records show, for this reason alone. It was the year 1620. During the twelve years the Pilgrims had, with the Dutch, enjoyed profound peace. Now, truce with Spain was to end next year, 1621, and the little republic must summon all her resources against the mightiest military power in Europe. As Bradford says, there was nothing heard on all sides but the beating of drums and preparations for war. Hence, the States-General were unable to guarantee military protection, especially in the shape of two ships of war and a garrison of soldiers, to a colony of Englishmen across the Atlantic. They could not even protect their own people, the colony of Dutchmen and Walloons proposed by Jesse de Forest; though later, in 1623, with his company of fifty-six Walloon families, he was able to lay the foundations of the Empire State. The Pilgrims, glad as they would have been to close with the generous response of the Amsterdam merchants to Robinson's application, must have foreseen what answer the States-General would give; and so they had to turn from fair offers, and accept the rigorous terms of the English Merchant Adventurer's Company, which kept them in debt and at hardest toil for several years.

7. It has been charged that Elder Brewster endured persecution for "having printed some Nonconformist books which were unacceptable to the English hierarchy;" that "the Dutch government cowered beneath his intimation" [of Sir Dudley Carleton, the British minister at The Hague], "and set their machinery of law at work to arrest the elder for doing what he had in Holland a perfect right to do. In fear of Dutch prisons he fled, with all his, and seems to have laid low in England, until he could join the exiles on the Mayflower, at Southampton, on their way home."

Answer. These statements are not according to fact, or are distorted. Nearly the whole story may be traced in Sir Dudley Carleton's "Letters." Just as our republic gratefully made it possible, during a generation or two, for "a citizen of the United States [even though a foreigner] at the time of the adoption of this Constitution," to become President of the United States, so the Dutch honored the ambassador of their Protestant ally with a place in their councils. To his opinions and advice they gave as much deference as the Continental Congress gave to the suggestions of Steuben or Lafayette; but they never for a moment, as even Sir Dudley Carleton's letters show, "cowered beneath his intimation," or that of his master, King James. At his request, in December, 1619, the States-General issued a "placart" against indecent, scurrilous, scandalous publications, ten months after Brewster had left Holland for England. Further, Elder Brewster endured no persecution whatever from the Dutch. He printed as many Brownist or Congregationalist books without, so far as we know, any opposition. There is no proof whatever that Elder Brewster fled to England in fear of Dutch prisons; but, so far as we know, went of his own accord, with his family, in February, 1619. It is possible that he never saw Southampton till he first saw it from the deck of the *Speedwell*. It is more than probable that he returned safely and untroubled to Leyden, late in 1619, and was with the Pilgrims in their embarkation at Delfshaven, as represented in Weir's accurate picture, and Professor Franklin Dexter's chapter in Winsor's History.

8. It has been said that while searching for Brewster at Leyden, the Dutch constable, through a confusion of names, arrested Brewer. Brewer, who was a fellow of the University, had been associated with Brewster in the printing business. It is charged that, "Thus caught, Brewer was dealt with, and after lying a long time in prison, his types being seized and his property confiscated, he was sent, under guard, home to England, to be dealt with by the government there."

To any one familiar with Dutch life in a university town of this period, this statement causes merriment. Nevertheless, it contains a fraction of the truth. The facts are these: A fiery Scotsman, supposed by Cotton to have been the Rev. John Tarbes, or, as is more probable, David Calderwood, the famous

champion of the church of Scotland and opponent of King James, had published a violent and scurrilous personal attack, virtually charging the king with perjury. This involved a point of international law, and under the treaty between Holland and England the offender, if caught, could be justly extradited. The Dutch government would not shelter anarchists; theirs was liberty under law. Sir Dudley Carleton suspected that Brewster was the printer of this libelous book, of which there is no proof. By mistake of names Brewer was apprehended. Now what happened? Brewer was not cast into the city prison; his property was not confiscated; he was not sent under guard as a prisoner to England. When the University officers heard of the British minister's purpose they took Brewer under their own charge, English subject though he was, with no fear of King James, or England, or Sir Dudley Carleton before their eyes. They then demanded that Brewer should go as a member of the University, and go of his own accord as a free man, to London, and that the British ambassador should guarantee his safe return, and, further, pay all his expenses. And all this Sir Dudley Carleton was, to his great disgust, obliged to do. So Brewer went, under no bonds, in company with a private citizen, enjoyed the picnic to London, and came back scot free with flying colors, much to the chagrin of Sir Dudley Carleton, who had to pay the bills. It is probable that Brewer, and all the Pilgrims, who at the first fuss had offered to go Brewer's bail, doubtless believing him innocent, had a good laugh over the whole affair and the discomfiture of King James and his envoy, and doubtless with admiration for the Dutch, who would not allow themselves to be insulted even by King James. It is even probable that some of the Dutchmen, along with the fiery Scotsman, the real troubler of the monarch, hugely enjoyed this "twisting the British lion's tail."

9. Finally it is alleged, on the strength of a piece of gossip set forth in the seventeenth century, fifty years after the event, that the Dutch bribed the captain of the Mayflower to take the Pilgrims to Cape Cod, instead of to the Hudson River.

Answer. Such a story is not only "incredible," as Professor Franklin Dexter declares, but is a palpable absurdity, unworthy of notice.

Finally, after balancing the question of remaining in Holland

and losing their identity as Englishmen, and becoming absorbed in the Dutch nation,—so many of their sons marrying Dutch wives, and their daughters Dutch men, and their boys entering the Dutch army,—or of emigrating to America, and after debating the question whether to risk the cruelty of the red Indians or the dark Spaniards, with heroic courage and sublime faith in God, the younger and stronger portion embarked on the *Speedwell*, to suffer many treacheries, hardships, and sorrows at the hands of their own English countrymen before landing on the boulder at Plymouth to begin New England.

How the Pilgrims really felt towards the Dutch and Holland, is seen in the general tone of the records they have left behind them. They picture their poverty and lowly estate, for their condition was hard. There are criticisms, also, of Dutch opinions and customs, of the way the Sabbath was kept, the fact that school education for the children was in Dutch, not English, etc. ; but not in all their writings can be found one sentence that can be tortured into an expression of complaint of their treatment by the Dutch national government, by the authorities of Leyden, or by the Dutch people. On the contrary, we have two distinct and positive expressions of acknowledgment and gratitude by Governor Bradford, penned on this side of the Atlantic and on Massachusetts soil. Writing to the Dutch on Manhattan Island early in 1627, and referring to the alliance between England and Holland, he says—and remember that, as Dr. Dexter once wrote, “An ounce of matter-of-fact record at that time is worth a ton of the rhetoric of to-day” :—

“Now, forasmuch as this [alliance] is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighborhood, in all our dealings ; yet are many of us tied by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years, with freedom and good content, as many of our friends do this day ; for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us, and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever.”

Again, Oct. 1, 1627, Bradford wrote from Plymouth to Manhattan expressing his gratitude and sense of obligation, “Acknowledging ourselves tied in strict obligation unto your country and state for the good entertainment and free liberty which we

had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy under your most honorable lords and states."

Whatever may be thought now, Bradford did not believe that Dutch hospitality to the Pilgrims was "a pleasing fiction." It is true, unfortunately true, that some good men, professing to represent the Pilgrims, have tried to prove that Bradford was speaking the language of politeness only, and not of truth. They say he was diplomatic, and meant what he said only in the sense of modern politics. They see in this scene only the bandying of mutual flattery.

Well might the Pilgrims say, "Save us from our friends." In our opinion, such explanations blacken the character of noble, sincere men. The Pilgrims stir our souls to noblest endeavor to-day, because we believe them to have been God's men, brave, simple, sincere, scorning polite lies. No; Bradford, who had been first in Holland, and in all probability first advised the Pilgrim exodus thither, spoke truth and lied not.

Let us glance now at the influence of the Dutch Republic upon that great multitude of Englishmen who lived in the Netherlands during the period 1580 to 1640, mainly from whom, and during which time, New England was settled. Holland, in defying Spain and the Pope, was, during her eighty years' struggle, fighting the battle of Protestantism and religious liberty for England as well; and England knew it. One reason of the greatness of the British Empire to-day, is that Holland once stood as her bulwark against Spain. Hundred of English merchants were settled as traders trading, and hundreds of English volunteers were fighting in the Dutch armies, as early as 1580; but it was not until the treaty of 1585, six years after the United States of the Netherlands had formed their union, and five years after they had published their declaration of independence, that large bodies of Englishmen entered the Dutch military service and drew Dutch pay. From 1585, Elizabeth agreed to furnish five thousand foot and one thousand horse for thirteen years. In addition to these six thousand men, there were three or four thousand English volunteers in the Dutch armies. After the truce of 1609, the year the Pilgrims arrived, the Dutch army was reduced to thirty thousand men, of whom five thousand were English or Scottish. This military force drew with it large numbers of merchants,

contractors, students, and serving men, besides the chaplains, and families of officers and men, swelling the average total, refugees and adventurers being counted, to probably ten thousand people annually. When, in 1498, the English merchants were expelled from Stade, in Germany, they settled first at Middleburg, in Zealand, where Browne went, and where there was an English Congregational church before that at Amsterdam or Leyden. On June 15, 1592, as we find from the Dutch archives there were manufactories of English cloth situated in twelve cities of the Netherlands; viz., at Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Gouda, Leyden, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Alkmaar, Gorincham, Enkhuysen, and The Hague. During the Dutch war of freedom, there were in all twenty-two English churches in the Netherlands, notices of which are found in the appendix to Steven's "History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam." Among the names of the ministers and church officers, are those of several who afterwards became famous in America.

This vast number of Englishmen, of all sorts and conditions, attracted by the toleration, prosperity, or military or commercial opportunities of the little republic, continued until the Dutch United States had substantially won the day. By 1648, Spain, exhausted by her vain task, having fertilized the ditches of Holland with the corpses of a third of a million of her sons, having learned that the Dutchman's "mines above ground" were more than the silver lodes of Peru and Mexico, acknowledged the independence of the republic. Long before this, however, the English soldiers and most of the merchants had returned to England, while whole congregations of aggressive Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, and other Nonconformists, their nerves braced by republican air, and faces flushed with the consciousness of coming success at home, crossed the Channel to cross swords also with King Charles, and attempt the establishment of a commonwealth. Surely a crop of dragon's teeth was sown long before 1640.

Let us see what came to the surface in the four years' civil war.

1. The eastern and southern counties were Parliamentary and republican,—the eastern counties being the impregnable fortress of the commonwealth; in other words, the counties overrun by

the heretic weavers, brick-makers and brick-layers, dike-builders and land-drainers from the Netherlands in the fourteenth century, and only two or three generations before by the Dutch Protestants, and where tens of thousands of English apprentices had been trained in the homes, and in the ways, and thinking of Bible-reading men. Thousands of English children with one or more Dutch parents, and thousands of grandchildren helped to explain what suddenly came to the surface when Parliament and king crossed swords. It was the sons and grandsons of these English apprentices who formed the bulk of Cromwell's army. Further, the man who trained Cromwell in military tactics was a Hollander, Dalbier, and the first judge advocate of the Parliamentary army was Dr. Dorislaus. The Ironsides were raised and trained in the Holland districts, and a Dutch captain was the Steuben who drilled these militia into regulars who opposed the predecessor of King George. Of the men who organized the Parliamentary forces, Fairfax, Essex, Monk, Warwick, Bedford, Skippon, and others, as Masson and Carlyle show, were trained in the Netherlands.

Yet the English Commonwealth did not stand. It went to pieces within fifteen years. Why? Because England was not prepared for a republic. It had not the right land or property laws, the right jurisprudence, popular educational system, the right local and national spirit. Feudalism, the worship of rank, the power of the State church, entail, and primogeniture were all against a republic.

Yet it is possible that if the reforms proposed by the committee of the Long Parliament could have been carried out, and the preliminary work needed for a republic had been done by these reforms put in action, England might have been a republic, and be leading the world in the ideas that underlie our American democratic government. John R. Green says that for the last two hundred years, in a tentative way, England has been following out the Parliamentary army's scheme of political and social reform.

Yet where were the precedents obtained, the basis of these reforms and features found? In English history, in the English unwritten constitution? No; they are not there. They are almost every one found in Dutch history, and from thence are they

taken.* They would not work in England; the soil was not ready for the seed. Picked men, Englishmen,—not average men, but morally far above the average, and trained in, or influenced by, the Dutch republic,—brought them to America. Rejected of England, but elect and precious in God's sight, they introduced them into New England. Huguenots, Quakers, Baptists, Scotch-Irish, Germans, Dutch, brought them to the middle and southern colonies, and the great Teutonic ideas, vitalized by Christianity, took root on American soil, and their fruit is the republic of these United States. The reforms proposed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth, for which England was not ready, were carried out in America by Englishmen who had been fired with Bible ideas. To them the Old Testament became a text-book, but the Protestant republic gave them visible precedent and example. When England relapsed into monarchy,—that is, one-man power,—and Puritanism slumbered until goaded to wrath again by James II., then again the men of England looked to Holland. They took their precedent from the deposition of Philip II., and the cue of their own Declaration of Right from that of Holland's Declaration of Independence. They asked the Dutch stadtholder to cross the North Sea with his Dutch regiments, and become William III. of England.

For the original and inspiration of England's Magna Charta of 1688, see the Dutch Act of Abjuration of 1580, and put the two documents side by side, and you will see the family likeness. Chronology and style will show which is the father and which the son. When the immortal document signed July 4, 1776, is made one of the series, its genealogy is sound and sure in the order,—Dutch, English, American.

Let us turn now to American history, and see whether the Dutch Republic influenced our making. Let us look at States and groups of men. All, or nearly all, the military leaders of the colonists were trained in the Dutch armies, gaining their experience in Holland's fight against Spain—Miles Standish and Governor Dudley of Massachusetts, Lyon Gardiner of Connecticut, Sir Samuel Argal, Virginia, Leisler of New York, and many others less prominent.

* This part of the subject here glanced at, is treated at length in Mr. Douglas Campbell's work, "The Puritan in England, Holland, and America."

Massachusetts was settled by men educated eleven years in the Dutch Republic, in 1620. Their ten years' success led others to come over and settle. It was the men trained in Holland who made the Plymouth settlement a success; for the best emigrants for the next five years (or until John Robinson died), as Palfrey shows, were emigrants from Leyden. Full of charity, kindliness, and toleration, their minds broadened by experience in a land where religion was free to all men, and whose people respected the rights of the Indians to the soil, their treatment of Roger Williams the radical, and of Miles Standish the Roman Catholic, was in marked contrast to what men who differed in convictions received from the Puritan immigrants. Holland was one of the first countries to cast off the delusion of witchcraft,—the first book against the superstition being by a Dutch physician, and the Pilgrims were never under its spell. Reared under a federal republic, they and their sons led in the formation of the New England Confederation, of 1643. Even in the Mayflower's cabin they had imitated the Netherlands in having a written compact for their government.

Of the settlers of Massachusetts beyond the old colony, five sixths came from the shires of England, which had been most profoundly leavened by the opinions and presence of the Netherlands refugees. The overwhelming majority of the early ministers in New England were educated at Cambridge, spending their student life in the heart of the eastern counties. In scores of instances the family cognomen of these New England settlers are only Dutch names Anglicized, and a considerable strain of both Puritan and Pilgrim blood is Dutch blood.

Connecticut, it is believed, is the typical American Commonwealth, being even more democratic in origin and sturdy maintenance of independency and republican principles than Massachusetts or any other State, having the first regular written constitution; that is, a signed compact, which not only provided, but prescribed, a definite system of government. In that instrument elections were ordered to be by secret, written ballot. In other words, the main features of the political organization of Connecticut are not borrowed from England. Are they original? We answer, that between the details of the early political methods of Connecticut and of the Holland states, as Ubbo Emmius's famous

book shows, the likeness is that of heredity. No place in the early American colonies is so politically like a bit of the old Dutch republic as Connecticut. In political complexion, feature, and detail, in town representation, legislature, courts, detail of parliamentary proceeding, the little federal republic of Connecticut was a close copy of Friesland or Holland.

The hand of Thomas Hooker, the Cambridge graduate driven out of England to find refuge in Holland, and forced to cross part of the ocean as a stowaway, is distinctly visible in the first American written constitution. In his sermon preached before the instrument was framed, the great preacher laid down the doctrine first nationally proclaimed and obtained in the republic under whose flag Hooker had lived during four years,—that “the foundation of authority [is] laid in the free consent of the people;” “that the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God’s own allowance;” that “they who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, have the right also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.” Not only were both Hooker and Davenport, the founders of Connecticut, politically educated in Holland, but so also were a number of the chief men associated with them and leaders of the emigration.

What of Rhode Island? It was settled by a man who, whether ever in Holland or not, is not known; but this is certain,—he was a fine scholar in the Dutch language, familiar with Dutch politics and history, and taught the poet Milton Dutch. He studied and preached in the region of England overrun by Dutch Anabaptists; he was extremely beloved, and sheltered by the Pilgrims. He was banished not merely for theological reasons, but mainly because he insisted on the right of the Indians to the soil, and believed and practiced the Dutch doctrine laid down in all their charters and steadily carried out, of buying the land of the natives and paying for it, as in New York, and New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and Delaware, before occupation. In Rhode Island’s constitution was followed the precedent of toleration set by Holland.

To sum up, then, concerning New England, the men who settled it put in operation at once written constitutions, registration of deeds and mortgages, common schools, and written ballots,

besides other things having no precedent in England, but known, practiced, and seen by men in a republic. In other words, the life of English Nonconformists in England being made a burden to them, and toleration being refused at home, the colonists to New England, numbering twenty-one thousand men, had left their native land before 1640 and come to America, thousands of them by way of Holland. These settlers were not average Englishmen. As a rule, they were picked men, morally and spiritually. Many of them, especially their leaders, had breathed long and deeply the air of freedom in a republic, and so carried with them to the virgin soil of the New World, the best English traditions, reinforced by living examples and precedents of a Protestant, federal, and free republic. Hence, in settling Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, they did not reproduce English social or political life, but, by a noble reversion, they re-erected on American soil the old Teutonic institutions, and they copied largely, with improvements, exactly what they had seen in operation under the red, white, and blue flag of the United States of the Netherlands.

Of New York, the Empire State, which led all others in jurisprudence, constitutional law, and political influence on the nation, it is enough to say that it was settled by the Dutch, who transferred to the New World the republican principles in their fullness. The Dutch in America were not pilgrims or refugees. They had no need to be. Their Protestant faith, their toleration, their republicanism, were already won. Owing to an act of British treachery, committed in time of peace, by the Stuart King James, in 1664, like the seizure of Alsace-Lorraine by the French Louis, the little colony of seven thousand persons in the New Netherlands had but forty-one years of peaceful development, twenty-one of which were during the fatherland's struggle for life with Spain. After the English treachery and conquest of 1664, about one half of the inhabitants of the New Netherlands returned to the Fatherland. They were not willing to live under the rule of that king whose son the English themselves drove out twenty-four years later.

The Dutch settlers brought with them something else than what Washington Irving credits them with. They had schools and schoolmasters, ministers and churches, the best kind of land

laws, with the registration of deeds and mortgages, toleration, the habit of treating the Indian as a man, the written ballot, the village community of freemen, and an inextinguishable love of liberty were theirs. They originated on American soil many things, usually credited to the Puritans of New England, but which the English rule abolished. They who remained, however, assisted by Huguenot, Scotsman, and German, though in a conquered province, fought the battle of constitutional liberty against the royal governors of New York night and day, and inch by inch, until, in the noble State constitution of 1778, the victory of 1648 was re-echoed. "Having no royal charter, the composite people of New York, gathered from many nations, but instinct with the principles of the free republic of Holland, were obliged to study carefully the foundations of government and jurisprudence. It is true that in the evolution of this commonwealth the people were led by the lawyers rather than by the clergy. Constantly resisting the invasion of royal prerogative, they formed, on an immutable basis of law and right, that Empire State which, in its construction and general features, is, of all those in the Union, the most typically American. Its historical precedents are not found in a monarchy, but in a republic. It is less the fruit of English than of Teutonic civilization."*

Pennsylvania's part in the making of the American Union is not the least. Her foundations were laid in brotherly love to the Indians, and to men of all creeds, in prayer, in faith, in profound trust in God, as truly as was Massachusetts or Connecticut. Hers was one of the most liberal of all the colonial constitutions. All faiths were tolerated, even Roman Catholic. Church and state were separate. William Penn changed prisons from nurseries of vice to models of reformatory and penal institutions; taught orphan children trades, and gave persons wrongfully accused of crime damage against the prosecutor. To Pennsylvania came the persecuted of many countries as to a holy land of peace. Here was raised the first ecclesiastical protest against slavery; and here the first book in America condemning it was written. Here, also, was printed the first Bible in a European tongue, the first treatise on the philosophy of education, the largest and most

* Preface to the author's "Sir William Johnson and the Six Nations," in the series, "Makers of America."



sumptuous piece of colonial printing; and here was the first literary center and woman's college established, in America. Pennsylvania led off in establishing the freedom of the press, in reform of criminal law, in reform of prisons, in awarding to accused persons the right of counsel for defense. In proportion to her numbers, Pennsylvania lost more men than any other Northern State during the Civil War for freedom. In not a few features now deemed peculiarly American, besides that of honoring the Lord's day, the State founded by William Penn is (despite contemporary politics), the land of first things, and the shining example.

Well, who was William Penn? He was the son of a Dutch mother, Margaret Jasper, of Rotterdam. Dutch was his native language, as well as English. He was a scholar versed in Dutch law, history, and religion. He preached in Dutch, and won thousands of converts and settlers, inviting them to his Christian commonwealth. He himself wrote the grand Constitution of Pennsylvania. Were his precedents taken from English law? No! While writing that instrument he lived in Embden,—the oldest known home of the written ballot, and one of the cities of refuge to the English Protestant refugees,—with the laws of Friesland, the old home of the Anglo-Saxons, and one of the first states of the Dutch Republic, daily before his eyes.

Time would fail to tell of all the vitalizing influences, direct and indirect, of the Dutch Republic upon ours. These can be clearly discerned, not only in colonial times, but also in the revolutionary and constitution-making epochs. Was it not a kind Providence which so laid the foundation stones of our national history, that the tolerant Dutch and the peaceful Quakers were placed between Puritan and Cavalier, between Long Island Sound and Mason and Dixon's line, until Old-World feuds were swallowed up in the grander issue of the American Revolution? Can we forget how little Holland, first after France, recognized our national independence, and showed her faith in us during our dark days by a loan of fourteen millions of dollars? When after the Revolutionary war, Americans were searching all history for precedents and examples of republican government, to what nation in ancient, mediæval, or modern times did they look most closely, and copy more directly, than Holland and her republic, profiting by her faults and her costly experiences.

Well do the English critics who, in recent years only, since republics were made respectable in their eyes by the success of our Civil War, study us, say that the political writings of the framers of the American Constitution show minute familiarity with Dutch history, while the political experience of England has not been drawn upon. Well wrote Washington to Professor Luzac, of Leyden, the famous professor of history, editor, and writer on republican principles, and political teacher and correspondent of Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, and later the instructor of John Quincy Adams, "America is under great obligation to the writings of such men as you." Still more direct testimony to the influence of the Dutch Republic on the American Revolutionary leaders and makers of our national Constitution is furnished by Franklin, who wrote, "In love of liberty and bravery in the defense of it, she [Holland] has been our great example." Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, authors of "The Federalist," and so prominent in the formation of our national government, were closely allied by marriage to the Dutch families of New York, and to them, as to Madison, the father of the Constitution, the story of Holland's struggle and experience was as a household tale. "The Federalist" and their other writings show how well they utilized their knowledge, and how largely they drew upon the political experience of the United States of Holland.

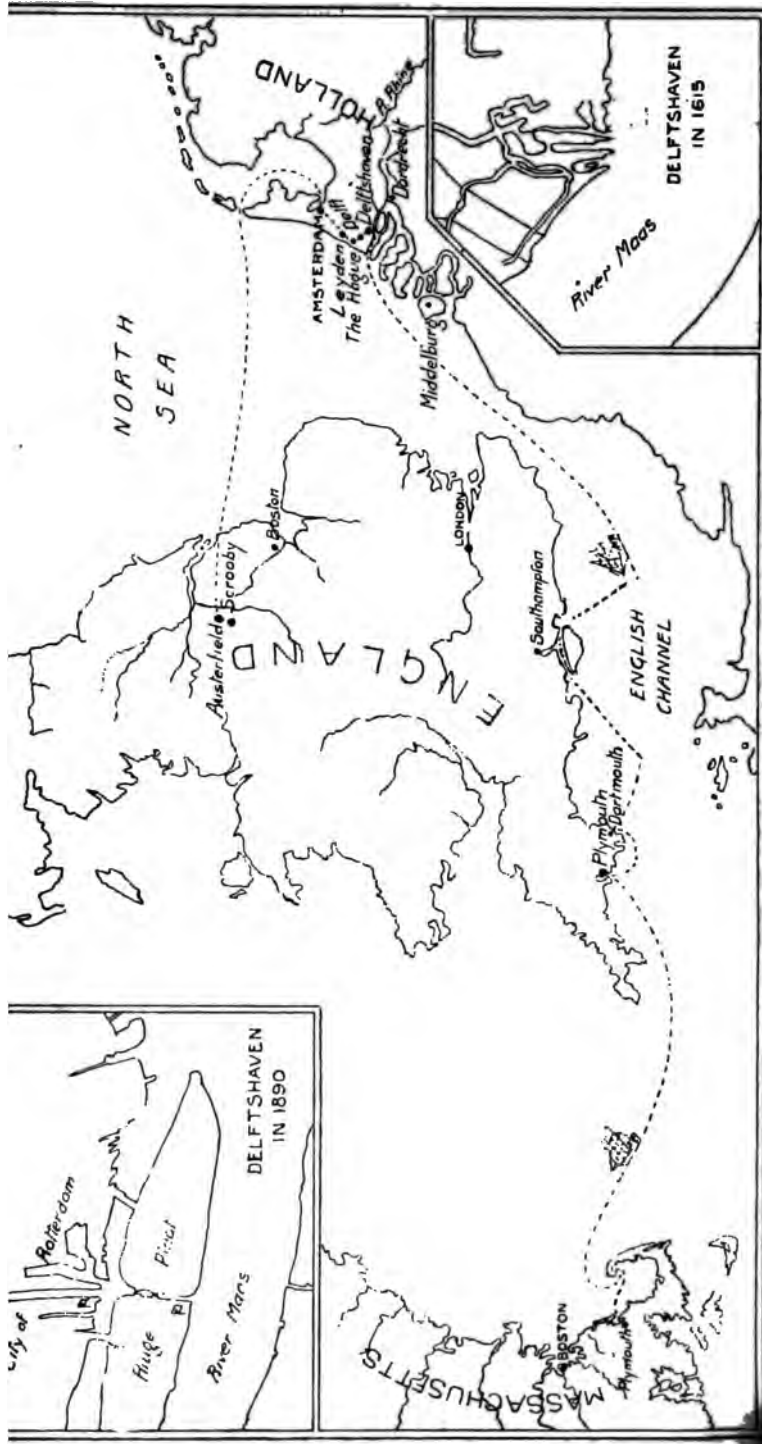
Were time and space given, it could be here clearly shown that we are less an English nation than composite of the Teutonic peoples; the result of the whole continental movement of the sixteenth century, when the Bible and printing became the property of the common people. In our American commonwealth the features enumerated below were not derived from England, but were, in germ, or directly, borrowed from the Netherlands Republic. We inherit the best spirit of the Roman empire, and of the Teutonic principles, vitalized by Christianity, and the nations of the earth now borrow more from us than we from them. The main features of the American commonwealth are:—

1. The principle that "all men are created equal."
2. Separation of church and state.
3. Our land laws, with the system of registration of deeds and mortgages.

4. Local self-government, from the town meeting to the "government of governments" at Washington.
5. Written constitutions prescribing and limiting the powers of rulers and departments of government.
6. Our State governors and national President, the Stadtholders of States and United States.
7. Our State Senates and national Senate, or States-General of sovereign States.
8. Our Supreme Court, and the supremacy of the judiciary.
9. Our common-school system.
10. Freedom of religion.
11. Freedom of the press.
12. The secret, written ballot.
13. Reform of criminal law.
14. Prison reform.
15. The office of District Attorney.
16. The right of counsel for defense.
17. The amalgamation of law and equity in codes.
18. Reform in the laws concerning the rights of married women.

It is less needful for me to enter into detail and proofs of the claims here made, since one more able and better versed in history and law, an American lawyer, Douglas Campbell, has wrought out the argument, and his work will soon be published.

It has been my purpose in this paper only to supplement the ordinary story of English and American history by furnishing an omitted chapter. How far I may have succeeded, you must be judges. This much, however, I believe; viz., that your proposition to erect at Delfshaven some durable token of American appreciation of both hosts and guests, Hollander and Pilgrim, is one worthy of praise, honor, and support by all Americans who honor alike the principles and the founders of the older and the younger republic. In believing that Gov. William Bradford, in 1627, spoke the truth and lied not, when acknowledging so unstintingly the kindness of Holland and the Dutchmen, he said, "for which we are bound to be thankful, and our children after us," you are vindicating them from the sectional or sectarian prejudice that dwarfs the character of both.



Frank Wood, Printer, Boston.

Preamble and Resolutions

ADOPTED AT THE REGULAR MEETING OF
THE CONGREGATIONAL CLUB OF BOSTON,
MASS., MONDAY, 24TH FEBRUARY, 1890.

Whereas, Remembering the hospitality of the free republic of Holland so generously bestowed upon the Pilgrims, who, after twelve years residence in Amsterdam and Leyden, sailed from Delfshaven on a voyage which was completed at Plymouth Rock, it is fitting that we, members of Congregational Clubs throughout the United States, should unite in grateful recognition of Dutch hospitality, and at Delfshaven raise some durable token of our appreciation of both hosts and guests,—calling upon all Americans who honor alike the principles and the founders of the two republics to join in the enterprise. Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Club heartily approves of the erection of such a commemorative monument, and that the REV. WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS, D.D., MR. HAMILTON A. HILL, MR. WILLIAM O. GROVER,* the REV. ARTHUR LITTLE, D.D., and MR. THOMAS WESTON, be a committee in behalf of this Club to act with full power in conjunction with committees of other Congregational Clubs and of any other appropriate organizations, to obtain the necessary funds, and to secure the erection of such a memorial.

CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN,

President.

Attest:

M. M. CUTLER,

Secretary.

See List of contributions to MR. FRANK WOOD, 352 Washington Street, Boston, Mass., and receipts will be sent. No money to be expended until a national association is formed, but held in trust for the purpose.

*Mr. General Grover, who had been Mr. Frank Wood's appointee, March 27th, 1890, died.

[Reprinted from "Pacific Educational Journal."]

[From the Seminary in Pedagogy, University of California.]

County Supervision in California.

BY G. W. BEATTIE.

The County Superintendency, as it now exists in California, is the result of a growth or development. The constitutional provisions and legislative enactments concerning it record the successive steps in this progress, and it is the object of this paper to trace the movement thus indicated.

As a rule, only what was destined to have a permanent place, because of its power to satisfy a well recognized want, appears in these laws, since it is not easy for individual caprice to run the gauntlet of the legislative process. Though the idea may be at first only crudely expressed, and may require the light of experience for its fuller development; though at intervals schemes in advance of the times or out of harmony with the system may be forced forward and be followed by their natural reactions; yet to a careful student of the situation as therein revealed, it is evident that through all "one increasing purpose runs." There is ever manifest a disposition to give to this department of the school system all the power, opportunity and equipment necessary to enable it to perform its important functions and accomplish its high ends.

HISTORY.

1849.

When the Constitution, approved by the people in 1849, under which California came into the Union, was framed, a Superintendent of Public Instruction for the whole State was the only school officer directly provided for by that instrument; but the Legislature was directed by the terms of that Constitution to "provide for a system of common schools."

1850.

The Committee on Education in the first Legislature, near the close of the session in 1850, reported that in view of the heavy taxes



already imposed, they had concluded to withhold the bill they had prepared for the establishment of a public school system, and consequently action on this bill, no record of which was made, was indefinitely postponed.

1851.

The Legislature of 1851 framed the first school bill that was enacted in the State. In this law the work of local supervision was entrusted to superintending school committees, consisting of three members elected by each city, town or incorporated village for a term of one year. Where cities were divided into districts, a similar committee was chosen for each district. The functions of these boards were such as were by subsequent Legislatures divided between District Boards of Trustees, or Commissioners, and County Superintendents. Among the powers and duties of these boards that were afterwards assigned to the Superintendent, or to that officer and his associates, the county boards of examination, or county boards of education, were: The examination of teachers and the issuance of certificates to successful applicants; the enforcement, as far as practicable, of the use of text-books prescribed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction; the distribution of official blanks from the State office to teachers; the preparation of an annual report of the condition, prospects, wants, expenditures, etc., of all the schools under their care, embodying such statistical information as the Superintendent of Public Instruction might direct, a copy of which report was to be forwarded to the latter officer; the rendering of final decisions in cases of dismissals of teachers for cause; the promotion of pupils; the recommendation of the creation of new districts, or of modifications in the boundaries of existing districts; and in cases of difficulty, the giving of counsel to teachers. It was also prescribed that these superintending school committees should be allowed all reasonable expenses incurred in the discharge of their duties. The functions of the committees corresponding to those exercised by the Boards of Trustees of later date were: To organize schools in their districts; employ, pay and dismiss teachers; superintend the erection and repair of school houses; purchase supplies for the schools, and text-books for the children of indigent parents; determine time of opening and closing school; visit schools, at least once a month, and suspend or expel pupils for refusal to comply with the reasonable regulations of the schools. No provision was made till 1855 for schools outside incorporated cities or towns. Then Boards of Supervisors were authorized to establish

country districts. The State School Fund was apportioned by the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the counties, and also to the cities and towns, and subdivisions thereof constituting districts.

The first report issued from the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, prepared by Superintendent J. G. Marvin, in the year 1851, contains a recommendation that the office of County Superintendent of Schools be created.

1852.

The Legislature that met in 1852 repealed the school law of 1851, and enacted a new one containing provisions in regard to an officer to be known as a County Superintendent of Schools, in substance as follows:

1st. He should derive authority for his acts from the provisions of this law, and from the instructions of the State Board of Education and the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

2nd. He should exercise general supervision over the interests of common schools in his county, and give to Commissioners of Common Schools, Census Marshals and school teachers such aid and counsel as may be important to the prosperity of the schools.

3rd. He should distribute blank reports, forms, laws and instructions furnished his office by the Superintendent of Public Instruction for school officers.

4th. He should draw his warrants on the County Treasurer in favor of persons holding accounts audited by Boards of Commissioners (School Trustees).

5th. He should appoint Commissioners who should serve till the next general election; and fill all vacancies in such boards by appointment whenever they should occur. In the absence of one member of a Board of Commissioners he should be entitled to act in the place of such absent member.

6th. He should keep on file in his office reports of Census Marshals and Boards of Commissioners, and record the material parts thereof, together with an account of his own official acts.

7th. He should make an annual report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, in such form and manner as should be prescribed by that officer.

8th. The County Treasurer was directed to report to the County Superintendent of Schools the amount of common school moneys received by him, together with the shares to which the several towns, cities, villages and school districts were entitled under the provisions

of this Act. The apportionment of the Common School Fund of the State to the aforesaid municipalities and their subdivisions continued to be made by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, but in this Act it was provided that the moneys received from the county tax for school purposes should be apportioned by the County Superintendent.

Superintendent Marvin, in his report of 1852, points to the fact that, through an error of the Enrolling Clerk, the Legislature had omitted from the school bill the provision creating the office of County Superintendent, though the duties of such an officer had been defined, and recommends that the Legislature, at its next session, make the County Assessor in each county *ex-officio* County Superintendent of Schools.

1853.

The foregoing recommendation was adopted by the Legislature in 1853, and it was also enacted that the County Assessors should receive such compensation for their additional services as County Superintendents as might be allowed by the Boards of Supervisors of the several counties.

The County Superintendent was relieved from the duty of drawing warrants on the County Treasurer, by the enactment at this time of a provision requiring the latter officer to deliver to the various Boards of Commissioners the moneys to which their districts might be entitled, to be disbursed by said boards.

1854.

There was no legislation affecting school supervision in 1854. In his report of that year, State Superintendent Hubbs recommended that the office of County Superintendent be abolished, as tending to unnecessary expense.

1855.

The Legislature of 1855 disregarded this recommendation, repealed the existing school laws, and enacted a new one requiring an election of a County Superintendent in each county at the general election, said Superintendent to hold office for a term of two years, and to give bonds in a sum not less than double the estimated amount of school moneys to come into the County Treasury. The distribution of school moneys was again required to be made by the County Treasurer, on the order of the County Superintendent, based on the order of a Board of Trustees, and this practice has not since been disturbed.

This Legislature also reenacted, in substance, the other provisions of the law of 1852 concerning the County Superintendent; retained the provision of 1853 in regard to his salary, and made the following additions to his powers and duties: He was required to visit each school in his county personally at least once each year; to aid Trustees in the examination of teachers and see that the examination was in each case sufficiently rigid and thorough; to file reports of teachers and certificates of appointment of Census Marshals; and to apportion all common school moneys on receiving notice from the County Treasurer.

1856.

There was no legislation in 1856 affecting the matter now under investigation.

In his annual report, Superintendent Hubbs expresses the opinion that the existing school law is behind the age, and renews his recommendation that the office of County Superintendent of Schools be abolished.

1857.

Again was the recommendation of the State Superintendent disregarded, and the only legislation in 1857 affecting County Superintendents was the enactment of provisions making County Clerks in certain counties *ex officio* Superintendents, and requiring each Superintendent to refrain from teaching in the schools of his county, the latter enactment being modified later in the session so as to permit the Superintendents in certain specified counties to engage in teaching. The original prohibition seems to have been based on the principle that no officer should be interested in any contract he has had a part in making; and the County Superintendent was, apparently as a result of some confusion of thought, connected with School Trustees when they were denied the right to employ themselves as teachers.

1858.

The Legislature of 1858, like its predecessor, made few changes in the school law, but in a few more counties the County Clerks were made *ex-officio* County Superintendents.

1859.

The laws of 1859 record no changes affecting the County Superintendency.

1860.

In 1860 the examination of teachers was taken out of the hands of Boards of Trustees and assigned to a County Board of Examination, consisting of the County Superintendent and not less than three teachers to be appointed by him, which should issue county certificates, valid for one year, to successful applicants. The Superintendent of Public Instruction was *ex officio* a member of each County Board of Examination.

The County Superintendent was authorized to revoke any certificate issued by such a Board, for good and sufficient cause. It was also provided that not less than three County Superintendents, to be selected by the Superintendent of Public Instruction, should, in coöperation with the latter officer, constitute a State Board of Examination, and this Board was empowered to grant State Certificates. At this time it was required that returns of elections of Trustees be made to the County Superintendent, and kept on file in his office. The payment of the Superintendent's salary from the school fund was prohibited.

1861.

By the Legislature of 1861 the County Superintendent was allowed to select as members of the County Board of Examination competent citizens outside the ranks of teachers, if three qualified teachers could not be found in the county.

Applicants refused certificates by County Boards were accorded the right to appeal to the Superintendent of Public Instruction for final decision.

1862.

The Legislature of 1862 permitted the County Superintendent in each County to engage in teaching.

1863.

In 1863 all former school laws were repealed. Practically all provisions in the old laws relating to County Supervision were reenacted. In addition, each County Superintendent was authorized to call one or more Teachers' Institutes in each year, over which he should preside. The expenses of these Institutes, when the calling of them had been sanctioned by the Board of Supervisors, were, to the extent of \$150, to be paid out of the general County Fund. He was also empowered to grant temporary certificates, valid till the next session of the County

Board of Examination, when it was not convenient to call together said Board.

Negro, Mongolian, and Indian children were excluded from the public schools, and the County Superintendent was required to refrain from drawing his warrant for any expenses incurred by a district violating this provision.

The minimum number of County Superintendents to be appointed members of the State Board of Examination was increased from three to four. At the same time the minimum number of persons to be appointed by the Superintendent to share with him the responsibilities of the County Board of Examination was reduced from three to two.

Boards of Supervisors were directed to take into consideration the necessary traveling expenses of a County Superintendent, when fixing the amount of his compensation.

1864.

The Legislature of 1864 made it necessary that petitions for the organization of new districts be submitted to the County Superintendent for his approval, or disapproval, before they were transmitted to the Board of Supervisors for final action; and directed County Superintendents to subscribe for some State Educational Journal for each district, and allowed his office postage and expressage, payable out of the County School fund, to the extent of \$2 per district.

Superintendents were authorized to employ teachers in districts where the Trustees failed to do so; and they were required to withhold the salaries of any teachers who failed to take a prescribed oath of fidelity to the government of the United States.

The law of 1863, excluding certain classes of children from the public schools, was modified by the enactment of provisions for the establishment of separate schools for such children.

The salaries of the Superintendents in several counties were now fixed by the Legislature instead of being left to the discretion of the Board of Supervisors.

1866.

In 1866, under the guidance of State Superintendent John Swett, there was a thorough revision and expansion of the school law of the State, and in the new law enacted at this time, we find the following additions to the powers and duties of the County Superintendent:

He is to enforce the Course of Study and use of text-books adopted by the State Board of Education, and the rules and regulations re-

quired in examinations of teachers; to keep record of acts of the County Board of Examination; to administer oaths in matters pertaining to schools; to require Trustees to repair school-houses and abate nuisances, and in the event of their refusal, to have such acts performed and draw his warrant against the funds of the district in payment therefor; to supply his office with works on school architecture for the use of Trustees, and to pass on plans for school-houses, except in cities having Boards of Education; to hold an annual Teachers' Institute, provided there are ten or more districts in his county, and draw his warrant on the school fund for not more than \$100 to meet the expenses thereof, or to arrange with the Superintendent of an adjoining county for a joint Institute; to draw his warrant for binding documents in his office; to harmonize and correct district boundary lines, such changes when ratified by the Board of Supervisors to be the legal boundaries of the districts affected, and to print in pamphlet form a description of district boundaries for the use of Census Marshals; to grade schools, under instructions of the State Board of Education, as 1st, 2nd, or 3rd grade, and permit only such persons as hold certificates corresponding to the grade of the schools to teach therein; to withhold all apportionments from such districts as permit sectarian or denominational teaching in their schools. He is to hear appeals of teachers when suspensions of pupils have not been sustained by trustees, and of teachers who may have been dismissed for cause, and render final judgment in either class of cases; to be *ex-officio* chairman of the County Board of Examination, and in case qualified teachers, holding the equivalent of a 1st grade county certificate, cannot be found to constitute such a Board, to conduct the examination himself; to remove from office trustees who neglect to maintain school during five months in each school year; and to hear all cases of dispute in relation to school matters not properly belonging to courts of justice, with the understanding that appeals from his judgment may be made to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The State Board of Education was reorganized and the Superintendent of Schools in four specified counties were made members thereof.

Boards of Supervisors were required to allow Superintendents at least \$20 per district and traveling expenses, except where the salary of that officer is provided for by statute.

The amount of the official bond to be given by the Superintendent was left wholly to the discretion of the Board of Supervisors.

1870.

No further legislation affecting the office the County Superintendent appears till 1870. Then he was authorized to appoint a deputy, and to modify petitions for new districts, or for changes in boundaries, before submitting them to the Board of Supervisors. Trustees were required to report to him annually concerning district libraries under their control, and, on his order, books of a sectarian character were to be removed when found in any such library.

He was made *ex-officio* member of any City Board of Examination in his county, and he was to keep a register of orders, or warrants for the payment of public school moneys.

He was also required to furnish the Board of Supervisors annually an estimate of the amount, in excess of its income from the State and county school funds, needed by each district to maintain school for eight months in each year, and the Board of Supervisors was instructed to levy a tax in each school district sufficient to raise the amount indicated in said estimate. This provision was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court.

The holding of an annual Teachers' Institute in any county having less than *ten* districts, was left to the discretion of the County Superintendent.

1873.

The Political Code of California that went into effect in 1873, as reported by the Commission preparing the same, contained this section: "No person is eligible to the office of School Superintendent who is not a professional teacher, possessing a first-grade certificate." In this connection it is interesting to recall the recommendation of the Committee on Normal Training Schools to the National Educational Association in 1872: "That in each University throughout the country, there be established a school or faculty of education; (and) That in every State there be established * * * one or more normal schools or colleges of a high order, * * * for the preparation of Superintendents of Schools, and others," and the recommendation, based on the foregoing, to the California Legislature, in 1875, by State Superintendent Henry N. Bolander, "That in our State University be established a school or faculty of education * * *; all students completing and passing a satisfactory examination in the third year course (thereof) * * *, to be eligible to the office of City or County School Superintendent."

Another provision of this Code was that in counties containing over 20,000 inhabitants, the Superintendent should devote his whole time to the duties of his office.

1874.

The Legislature of 1874 made it optional with Superintendents whether Institutes should be called in counties having less than *twenty* districts; but they were to secure vouchers for all expenses incurred in any institutes held.

At the same time the requirement that the County Superintendent be a professional teacher was repealed. Indeed, so pronounced was the determination to dispose of this provision that two Acts, repealing the section, appear in the enactments of this session.

It was made the duty of the Superintendent to keep on file in his office the certificates of all teachers actually employed, and teachers were directed to report to him the time of beginning and closing terms of school.

Section 1817 of the Political Code, enacted at this time, requires the County Superintendent to furnish the Board of Supervisors, and the County Auditor, annually, an estimate of the minimum amount of County School Fund required by law for the ensuing year.

Women were made eligible to all school offices in the State, and immediately thereafter, counties began to elect women to the office of County Superintendent. The number of their representatives in the ranks since then has been as follows: 1876-78, 5; 1878-80, 3; 1880-83, 2; 1883-87, 4; 1887-91, 7; 1891-95, 13.

The provisions of 1870 for a special tax levy in each district, where necessary to maintain eight months' term of school, that had been declared unconstitutional, was repealed.

City Boards of Examination were empowered to issue special certificates. The issuance of any certificate by a Superintendent, or Board of Education, or Board of Examination, except in accordance with the terms of the law, was declared a misdemeanor.

1876.

In 1876 all Superintendents receiving a salary of \$1,500 or more, were required to refrain from teaching or engaging in any occupation that could conflict with their official duties. Any Superintendent who did not hold a first-grade certificate was declared ineligible to the position of Chairman of the County Board of Examination, and when thus disqualified, was required to appoint to that position the principal of the largest school in his county.

1878.

The Legislature of 1878 provides that parents who desire their children to attend school in an adjoining district, may appeal to the County Superintendent for a final decision in case the trustees of the districts concerned disagree.

1879.

The Constitution adopted in 1879 makes the County Superintendent one of the necessary officers of the school system, thus rendering the existence of the office independent of statutory enactment, and fixes the length of his term at four years.

It also provides that "The County Superintendents and the County Boards of Education shall have control of the examinations of teachers, and the granting of teachers' certificates, within their respective jurisdictions."

1880.

When the first Legislature, after the adoption of the new constitution, convened in 1880, County Superintendents were authorized to issue temporary certificates to teachers, valid till the County Boards of Education, recently provided for, should be organized. They were made members of these Boards, and *ex-officio* secretaries thereof. Consequently, from this time it becomes necessary to study the development of the County Boards of Education, in order to fully comprehend the later increase in the functions and responsibilities of the County Superintendent.

These Boards consisted of four persons besides the County Superintendent, appointed by the Board of Supervisors, two of whom at least, were possessors of first grade county certificates, or their legal equivalent, and entitled to serve for a term of two years each.

These Boards were required to meet semi-annually, and hold examinations for the granting of certificates, and they were empowered to adopt rules for their own government, thus rendering them independent of control by any superior body. They were to prescribe and enforce rules for the examination of teachers; to issue certificates of two grades, either on examination or on certain specified credentials, authorizing the holders to teach in grammar or primary schools respectively; to prescribe and enforce the use of a uniform series of textbooks; to revoke, for good cause, certificates granted by them; to issue diplomas of graduation from any of the public schools of the county; to authorize studies, in addition to those required by law; and to renew certificates previously granted.

It was provided that each member of the Board should receive reasonable compensation for his services. In case Boards of Supervisors refused or neglected to appoint members of the County Board of Education, it was made the duty of the County Superintendents to make such appointments. It was required that all papers of applicants examined for certificates by County Boards, be kept on file by the County Superintendents for one year. The County Boards could authorize the County Superintendents, during the intervals between their semi-annual meetings, to issue temporary certificates on proper credentials, that should be valid till the next regular meeting of the Board.

Provision for ampler support of Teachers' Institutes was made at this time by requiring the County Superintendent to collect a fee of one dollar from each applicant for a certificate, for the support of a fund to be expended in employing instructors from outside the county.

The entire responsibility of grading the schools was now placed on the County Superintendent, he being no longer bound by instructions of the State Board of Education in this matter; and he was relieved from further service as a member of City Boards of Examination.

The Superintendent of Public Instruction was authorized to call a convention biennially, of County and City Superintendents, "for the discussion of questions pertaining to the supervision and administration of the public schools, the laws relating thereto, and such other subjects affecting the welfare and interest of the public schools as shall properly be brought before it." It was made the duty of all County Superintendents to attend these conventions, and the Boards of Supervisors were required to pay their expenses incurred while attending.

County Superintendents were authorized to have school grounds adorned with trees and shrubbery in cases where the Trustees failed to do so.

In this year it was enacted that a district having an average attendance of not more than five should lapse, and in such an event the County Superintendent was to make disposition of its funds.

The provision adopted in 1866, that the Superintendents in certain specified counties should constitute a portion of the State Board of Education, was repealed by an amendment to the Political Code making that Board consist of the Governor, the Superintendent of Public Instruction, and the Principal of the State Normal School. This arrangement was embodied in a constitutional amendment adopted in 1884, and the principal of any additional State Normal School was

made a member. In 1894, by another amendment to the organic law of the State, the President of the State University, and the Professor of Pedagogy in the same University, were added to the Board.

1881.

In 1881 the County Superintendent was empowered to have the school census retaken in any district, if he believed the work had been improperly done.

Each County Board of Education was required to prescribe and enforce a course of study, and adopt a list of books for district libraries, and was empowered to incur incidental expenses, including printing, to be paid out of the General Fund of the county; and to examine applicants for diplomas of graduation from the schools. The legislation of this year has been productive of a voluminous literature in the form of "County Manuals," a systematic study of which would furnish an interesting chapter in the history of educational development in California.

1883.

The Legislature of 1883 required County Boards of Education in all counties in which districts voted to adopt the grammar school course, to prescribe a course of study for the same, and also to provide for examinations for promotions in primary, grammar, and grammar school course grades, not less than twice each year.

1885.

In the statutes of 1885 the County Superintendent of each county was designated as the one to distribute the State text-books to the pupils of his county, and collect pay for the same through the teachers. The Board of Supervisors was required to set aside sufficient money to enable the County Superintendent to make his purchases, to be known as a "revolving fund," said money, when drawn out, to be replaced in said fund after being collected from the pupils.

1887.

Section 1669 of the Political Code, enacted in 1887, requires that any segregation of subjects and assignment thereof to teachers, where department work is done in grammar grade schools and schools in which the grammar school course is maintained, shall be submitted to the County Superintendent for his approval. The Superintendent was to keep a record of pupils enrolled in the grammar school course, and transmit a copy thereof to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. County Boards of Education were given power to issue grammar school course certificates.

The statutes of the same year authorize Principals of Normal Schools, Clerks of School Districts, and authorized retail dealers, as well as County Superintendents, to order State text-books.

1889.

In 1889 the County Superintendent was directed to expend one-half of the fees, amounting to two dollars each, received from applicants for teachers' certificates, for books for a County Teachers' Library. He was authorized to employ janitors when district trustees failed to do so; to supply each district with a rubber stamp with which the library books were to be marked; as *ex-officio* Secretary of the County Board of Education, to receive the same salary as any other member of the Board, \$5 per day during the sessions of the Board being now the specified salary of each member.

Section 1858 of the Political Code was so amended that when the funds of any district were temporarily exhausted, the County Superintendent might furnish to the County Treasurer an estimate of the income that such district would derive from the next apportionment, whereupon it became the duty of the Treasurer to transfer to the funds of said district, from any moneys on hand and not immediately needed, an amount not exceeding 90 per cent. of the estimate, to supply the pressing wants of the district.

An amendment to section 1614 of the Political Code required resignations of Trustees of School Districts to be made to the County Superintendent in writing; and section 1617 of the same Code was changed so as to make it the duty of Trustees to notify the Superintendent of the employment of teachers and the appointment of Census Marshals.

County Boards of Education were instructed to require promotions in all primary and grammar schools, except in cities having Boards of Education, at least *once* in each year, and prescribe the basis for the same, and were authorized to grant special certificates, and certificates of high school grade.

1891.

In 1891 the County Superintendent was instructed to take charge of the County Teachers' Library, catalogue the same, and keep a record of books taken therefrom.

In this year the law authorizing the establishment of City, Incorporated Town, and Union District High Schools, was enacted. Under its provisions the County Superintendent was, under certain conditions,

directed to call elections in the cities or districts petitioning therefor, to determine whether high schools should be established; receive the returns from such elections; and in case the vote proved favorable, call meetings of the Boards of Trustees of the districts affected, to complete the organization of the high School. He was also required to estimate the amount of money that should be raised by tax levied by the Board of Supervisors, on the property in said high school district, to purchase grounds, erect buildings and support the high school in union districts. This provision concerning estimating taxes was, by the Supreme Court, declared unconstitutional.

Another statute enacted the same year, authorized the establishment of County High Schools, and provided that in counties where high schools came into existence under this law, the County Board of Education should constitute the managing Board of such school; should hold its property, in trust, for the county; furnish the Board of Supervisors annually an estimate of the amount of money needed to pay all of the necessary expenses of running said school; adopt textbooks; adopt and enforce course of study; engage teachers, janitors and other employes; and do any and all other things necessary to the proper conduct of the school. They were to draw their orders on the County Superintendent of Schools, in the manner and form provided by law for School District Trustees against the County High School Fund, for all expenses of the school.

Grammar school course certificates were made exchangeable for high school grade certificates, and their issuance discontinued.

The County Superintendent was to appoint the District Clerk, in case the Board of Trustees failed to do so, on the first Saturday in July.

1893.

In 1893 the duty of making the estimate of the amount to be raised by taxation for the support of union district high schools was transferred from the Superintendent to the High School Boards.

The course of study in these schools, as well as in City and District high schools, organized under the provisions of the same Act, was made subject to the approval of the County Board of Education.

The County Superintendent was empowered to act with the representatives elected by the districts, in locating and naming union district high schools; and he was required to suspend the school in any such district whenever the average attendance did not exceed ten.

He was permitted to draw his warrant on the unapportioned

County School Fund for \$200 per year, for the support of the Teachers' Institute.

Special meetings of the County Board of Education were authorized whenever in the judgment of the County Superintendent the exigencies of the schools might require them to be held.

Life diplomas, educational diplomas, and documents issued by the State Board of Education to graduates from the State Normal Schools, having been made equivalent to certificates, the County Superintendent was instructed to make a record of the names of persons holding such documents, when submitted to him, in lieu of filing the certificates of such teachers.

Boards of Trustees were required to submit all proposed purchases of books and apparatus to the County Superintendent for approval.

1894.

Until 1894 it was the practice, based on sundry statutes, in cities having Boards of Education, to draw the total amount of each apportionment from the State and county funds, and place it in the hands of the treasurers of such cities for disbursement; but in the latter part of this year the State Supreme Court decided that all such moneys must remain in the possession of the County Treasurers till needed, and must be disbursed like the moneys of other districts, by means of orders drawn on the County Superintendents. This change involved a large increase in the clerical work of the latter officers.

CLASSIFICATION OF FUNCTIONS.

While from the title "County Superintendent of Schools" one would naturally expect its bearer to be distinctively an educational officer, more concerned with pedagogical questions and problems than with anything else, an examination of the legislation concerning this official will show that in the minds of those who took the first steps in establishing the office in the State, the opposite view prevailed, and the division of labors of the original Superintending School Committee between a County Superintendent and a Board of District Trustees seems to have been designed largely to establish at some convenient point an office of record for matters pertaining to schools; and to provide a simpler medium of exchange between the office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the schools. It was perhaps also thought wise to transfer from local committees, serving without pay, the duty of attending to the numerous details of administration that would be likely to be looked after more faithfully by one man who

gave sufficient time to such work to entitle him to compensation for his services.

Throughout the early history of the State, the duties of this officer were looked upon as almost wholly clerical, and County Assessors and County Clerks were considered fully competent, in the time they could spare from the duties of their more important offices, to exercise all the functions of a Superintendent of Schools. At one time only, and then for but little more than a year has the law required the County Superintendent to be a professional teacher.

As years passed, a recognition of the pedagogical element in a Superintendent's work stood out in bolder relief; but at the same time his duties in other lines were largely increased, till to-day he has assigned to him an aggregation of functions, demanding large amounts of labor, and requiring for their execution wide intelligence and sound judgment.

On analysis, the duties of the County Superintendent are naturally grouped in two divisions,—Business and Pedagogical.

BUSINESS.

A large amount of work of an almost purely clerical nature is required of him. He must keep a set of books, opening accounts with from three to five funds for each district; apportion the school moneys quarterly; register trustees' orders drawn on exhausted funds; draw requisitions on the district funds, restraining improper expenditures by the trustees; take charge of, and close the affairs of lapsed districts; distribute blanks received from the Superintendent of Public Instruction; where circumstances make it desirable, distribute State text-books to the pupils in the public schools; record the proceedings of the County Board of Education, including the standing of applicants examined; fill out certificates issued; record names of holders of documents equivalent to certificates; record his official acts; collect and file reports of teachers, trustees, census marshals, teachers' certificates, trustees orders for requisitions, certificates of election and resignations of trustees, and certificates of appointment of census marshals, teachers, and district trustees and clerks; from the documents on file and the records of his office, compile annually a statistical and financial report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

He has an extensive correspondence, by far the larger part of which is devoted to the details of administration. He answers letters from applicants for certificates, prospective teachers, perplexed trustees, dealers in books, apparatus and school supplies; sends instruc-

tions, information and advice to teachers, trustees and census marshals; and corresponds with Institute instructors, University representatives and educators generally.

There is another class of duties to be performed by the Superintendent, that combines some of the clerical element with an exercise of judgment or of technical skill.

He is the legal adviser of the people in matters pertaining to the schools.

The recommendation of the creation of new districts, or of the modification of old ones, requires thorough acquaintance with local conditions. Neighborhood disagreements must be considered, and action in such matters may have a material bearing on the continuance or removal of these differences, and in no part of a Superintendent's work is common sense in greater demand than in directing matters of this class. After a line of action has been decided upon by a district, there remains the preparation of the necessary papers by the Superintendent, and here, as also in making up the records of special tax and bond proceedings, is needed the skill of a lawyer, for defective operations at this stage may at some future time invalidate an issue of bonds voted by the district.

In the issuance of bonds for building purposes, though the law does not require it, the legal work generally and naturally falls to the County Superintendent, and after directing the steps to be taken by the people and trustees of a district, he compiles the necessary record of proceedings, including affidavits of publishing and posting election notices, a copy of the proceedings of the Board of Trustees calling the election, the qualification of the election officers, the poll and tally lists used in the election, the trustees' report of the canvass of returns, the County Auditor's certificate of valuation, the order to be adopted by the Board of Supervisors, including the form of the bond, an abstract from the records of the Board of Supervisors and his own office showing the organization and legal development of the district, supervise the printing of the bonds and assist in negotiating their sale. The ability of a county to place its school bonds to good advantage in the market depends, to a large extent, on the recognized ability of its Superintendent in preparing them for sale.

He is frequently expected to outline the financial policy for the districts, and his advice has weight in determining whether additional school facilities shall be provided, or terms extended, or houses shall be built by special tax; or whether bonds shall be issued for the latter

purpose; or whether maturing bonded debts shall be refunded. To act wisely in such matters, he must maintain a broker's knowledge of the conditions of the money market.

He must pass on the reports of teachers and census marshals, and see that papers of all kinds that are to be filed in his office are in proper form. This work requires, not so much technical skill, as patience in dealing with the shortcomings of persons who have seldom to use business papers.

Plans for school buildings, before adoption by Boards of Trustees, are submitted to him for approval. This necessitates on his part a fair knowledge of the fundamental principles of architecture, and an acquaintance with the specific needs of a school house. Tact is necessary, to secure desired results in the planning of buildings, and he has frequently to direct the architect from the beginning of his work.

Arbitrary divisions of districts by the incorporation or enlargement of cities, or by the formation of new counties, sometimes raise questions of such difficulty and importance that a comprehensive study of Supreme Court decisions is required to enable him to act wisely.

The County Superintendent is expected to exercise certain judicial functions.

It is his duty to hear appeals of teachers when they have been dismissed before the expiration of the time for which they were employed, and when suspensions of pupils have not been sustained by the trustees. He also hears appeals of parents who desire their children to attend school in an adjoining district, when the trustees of the two districts fail to agree. In all these cases his decision is final.

PEDAGOGICAL.

A very comprehensive duty of the County Superintendent is "to superintend the schools of his county." This probably meant to the early legislators, little more than to exercise certain functions pertaining to the mechanical parts of the school work; to see that suitable accommodations were provided; books supplied; teacher employed; and school maintained for the required number of months. His annual visit was probably devoted mainly to an investigation of the material features of the schools. Gradually the idea began to prevail that something more than existence was necessary, if the school was to accomplish what was expected of it as an important factor in the preparation of the future citizen for his part in the work of the world.

As early as 1863 the County Superintendent was required to call

an Institute annually, thus showing that stress was being laid on principles and methods of education; and in recent years the University development on the Coast, the establishment of departments of Pedagogy, and the increased support accorded to Institutes have enabled Superintendents to largely increase their influence in developing the pedagogical side of school work, by frequently bringing their teachers in direct contact with able thinkers on educational problems.

Beside the modern Institute stands the County Teachers' Library, a valuable collection of professional books, as it exists in most counties in the State,—another efficient agency by which the Superintendent may extend his influence in this direction.

The part the Superintendent has had, since an early day, in examining teachers and issuing certificates, has afforded one of his best means of influence on the educational standards of the schools, and this with the kindred work of grading the schools and assisting to outline the course of study has, since the days of more general interest in pedagogical questions began, given to this phase of his work greater importance than ever.

As an adviser of trustees, he can do much to determine the character of the teaching force of his county, and in his control over purchases of books and apparatus for district libraries he possesses a powerful instrument for elevating the intellectual ideals of communities.

Independently of his legal powers and duties, his position affords him large opportunities, and if he be a man of strength, he cannot but be a potent force in determining the characters of those who come within his range. It is his privilege to inspire with ambition the young people with whom he comes in contact. His annual visit is an event in their lives, and a word from him then may induce many a boy or girl to look forward to the high school, or university, who would otherwise be satisfied with a meager equipment for life.

Volume I.

Number 12.



THE

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MONTHLY MISCELLANY.

JUNE,—1845.

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CONDUCTED

by the

STUDENTS OF WILLIAMS COLLEGE.


Williamstown, Mass.:
1845.

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THE
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THE IDEA OF THE BEAUTIFUL.

IN that solemn chime of mysteries which is ever pealing upon the spirit, there is a tone whose undulations are rapture, whose triumphant symphony kindles the soul. It is the voice of the Beautiful, sounding the key-note in the chorus of the Eternal harmonies. It speaks to the universal sense of Deity—to Religion—to Enthusiasm—to Poetry—to Intellect in its loftiest conceptions. The Persian catches the thrilling strain from the beaming Orient—the dark Egyptian before his veiled Osiris—the Moslem where the minarets are flashing, and the follower of the cross in the solemn shades of the cathedral. It is a sense of the simple beautiful in Religion, that ever kindles in the ruder ages the noble enthusiasm of the bard, and rouses to the battle-madness the lion heart of the warrior. It shed, in clouds of myth, ambrosial fragrance around the chalice of Homeric song, and Achaian warriors, reeling from the nectared draught, heard the peans of their hero-gods high above the roar of battle. It woke the ecstasy of Wala's lyre in the music of the North, and "Odin" was the war shout of the Viking—the Runic banner-cry of Alaric's banded hordes. It was the beautiful in Allah's bowers, their houri and their golden harps, that glowed in the rich melody of Saracen song, and "Allah el Allah" rose on the plains of the East, amid the clash of scimeters, and the shiver of lances. It was the sense of a higher, holier beauty, that flowed in the angelic song of a nobler faith. Aye! and the mailed crusader

swung his battle-axe before the hallowed sepulchre, and the hoof of his war horse on the visor of the infidel rang the battle chorus to "St. George, St. Denis and the cross." But it is the idea of the beautiful, thrilling on the tuneful spirit, that awakes the lofty conception, that invests the radiant ideal with the elegance and eloquent symmetry of intellectual beauty. It gives to high poetic thought its graceful texture and enchanting mien, and throws around the master models of ideal art their majesty and exquisite grace. Ideal beauty is the poetry of the intellect—the rich regalia of mental adornment, the jewelled robes of a rapt and glowing imagination. It abides in the empyreal realms of thought ethereal—the dream-land where its bright creations float—where its spirit voices whisper. It is this lofty ideal of Beauty—the Beauty of the intellect—that shrines the inner sanctuary of the outer beautiful. Here Genius comes in the hour of its inspiration to plume the pinion of ideal Beauty, to hear the ravishing symphony that peals along the pillared aisles of the inner temple. Here it catches the low melody of the zephyr's lute behind the diapason of the storm, and the Naiad's songs on her coral reef beneath the surges of ocean. Here the child of song woos the spirits that career on the chariot of the winds—the phantom forms that glide upon the dancing wave. Here laurelled art invokes the master power that hung on high the crimson coronal of the sky—the myriad candelabra swinging and "and sparkling in rich sculpture"—that twined the sapphire wreath around the mountain's brow—that piled and pinnacle on the eternal hills their gorgeous battlement of cloud, sweeping in tinseled tracery along their everlasting summits. It is also ideal beauty, chastened and serene, that smooths the eagle pathway of severer science, and enhaloes the goal to which she wings her flight. It is the winged and beckoning messenger on the shoreless ocean of investigation, whose silver trumpet winds the winning note of Beauty and of Truth. It crowns with a diadem of stars the kingly science of the heavens, and bathes in a floodlight of empyreal beauty

— "him whose eye
Unwinds the eternal dances of the sky."

It decks the brow of a lower philosophy with a garland "woven of the lightning's wing"—of diamond and of amethyst—of the floweret and dewdrop that gems it—of the snowy plume that crests the ocean wave. It chants the melody that lured the Chaldee on his spiral pathway—that drew the torch of Newton flashing through the skies. Far beyond the Magian's sun-lit hills, or the Arabian's morning star, it shouts the loud "excelsior"—the Alpine banner cry of science upward among her gleaming pinnacles, where

— "Beauty's living image like the morn
That wakes in zephyr's arms the blushing May moves onward."

But intellectual beauty, in its highest sense, implies that ennobling, yet ineffable union of moral grace with lofty conception, which imparts to the triumphs of genius in art and in song their unrivalled excellence, their unapproachable grandeur. The beautiful legend of Psyche is no inapt representation of the human intellect as it rises to the fulness of its destiny. Morality is inward beauty—but beauty is the flower of Freedom—of graceful harmony—and as the intellect in its culture rises superior to impulse, it attains that delicate moral sense which is the effluence of its diviner nature, which is inward beauty—which is moral grace. It was the glory of the Hellenic era that around its loftiest conceptions of the beautiful, there breathed a sense of freedom and of airy grace, as buoyant and exulting as the breeze that played among the Idalian bowers. Aye! from the exalted union of ideal beauty with moral grace do we hail the dawning splendors of Hellenic art, where Melpomene sang to the seabird from her ocean rock, when the helmet-plume of Minerva flashed from the Sunian promontory, when within the five-fold gate of Propylea, Apollo winged his shaft, Achilles nodded his warrior plume, and the Olympian lifted his colossal form on the eyrie of the Acropolis. This is the perfect ideal that all but vivified the marble of the Cyprian sculptor, that woke the "*kuthereia kalliste*" of his exulting spirit. It beams in transcendent imagery from the brilliant pageant that crests afar the sierra heights of Hellenic poetry and Hellenic art. Every banner and plume, every lofty line of song and looming shaft, bear the noble lineaments and the crowning excellence of beauty etherealized—idealized.

A conception of the beautiful in its fullness, is the loftiest attainment to which the human intellect may aspire. It was indeed a lofty sense of beauty that kindled the spirit of him who limned the beatific vision of Cecilia. The harp of the Saint is indeed mute, but with speechless lip and kindling eye she gazes on a cloud from heaven, where angel forms are chanting the seraphic songs of the skies. It was indeed a triumphant sense of beauty that filled with serene and cloudless rapture the ideal of the poet, when he beheld his bright creations from their Isle of Palms,

— "like sudden rainbows spread their arching wings
And while to cheer their airy voyage sing
With joy, the charmed sea, the heavens give way
That in, the spirits who had sojourned long
On earth, might glide, then resume their sway
And from the gratulating throng
Of kindred spirits, drink the inexpressive song!"

But was it not in the perfect, radiant beauty of his ideal that the exulting bard of Hope sang of her triumph?

"What though each spark of earth-born rapture fly
 The quivering lip, pale cheek, and closing eye,
 Bright to the soul thy seraph hands convey
 The morning dream of life's eternal day!
 Then! then! the triumph and the trance begin,
 And all the Phoenix spirit burns within."

This is the ineffable fullness of beauty—the "Holy of Holies" in the temple of the Beautiful. Few indeed are the gifted spirits that enter there. There stood Milton and Cowper and Kirke White, that opening bud of promise in the Paradise of song, nipped while yet its tiny petals were laden with the dew-drops of its morning. There knelt also the pure and sinless spirit of the "Sabbath bard." Aye! the land of heather and of mountain—the land of the covenanters, of glorious martyrs, still mourns the memory of her Grahame, and Scottish bards still strike the lyre to the shrined of palace and of shieling. Well has the noblest of them all tuned his matchless harp to the beautiful genius of Grahame,

"How beautiful is Genius when combined
 With Holiness! O how divinely sweet
 The tones of earthly harps, whose chords are touched
 By the soft hand of Piety, and hung
 Upon Religion's shrine, there vibrating
 In solemn music on the ear of God!"

J. V.

RAMBLES AND VAGARIES OF ROGER
RESTLESS.

A merrier companion, a better hearted, or nobler souled fellow than Roger Restless, never enrolled his name among the students of W—— College. Though many years have elapsed since he went forth into the great world, his memory yet lingers like the fragrance of withered flowers, around the classic walls of his *alma mater*.

“None knew him but to love him,
None named him but to praise.”

His personal appearance was singularly prepossessing. Of medium stature, elegant figure, and classically beautiful features, he was admired by his class-mates and partially adored by the whole female population of the village, who thronged the windows to gaze upon him as he passed, as if he were a gentlemen courier dropped from the Court of Love in the planet of Venus.

His mental accomplishments were in exact symmetry with his physical gifts. While his mind disdained the frigid exactness of mathematical demonstration, and turned with disgust from the dullness of logic, and the coldness of metaphysics, it ranged with a wild and pure delight through the fields of ancient poesy, and drank in joy the deep mysteries of classic lore. It revelled in the sublime truths of higher philosophy, rejoicing in its land of Beulah without passing through the perils of a wearisome pilgrimage ere he attained its shadowy valley. Yet he was not vain. His fine and glossy hair was not studiously taught to flow in curls, or continuously brushed into slickness and precision. His boots were not always polished, neither did he wear straps on his unmentionables. Indeed it was pleasing to see him when walking with some friend in all of whose personal accoutrements a neatness and care had been observed, which gave to the wearer an appearance of stiffness and restraint, while every thing about Roger was negligently graceful and thoughtlessly easy. The sighs of the beautiful were heaved for him, yet he knew it not. The gaze of loveliness was often bent upon him with longing admiration, yet he beheld it not. Sighs and blushes, secret longings and open admiration were all lavished upon him, yet like the unconscious flower that knows not its own loveliness, he bloomed in unknowing beauty before the world and the things thereof.

A more uneasy gentleman than our hero it would be difficult to find. He could not study more than an hour at a time for his life; yet in that hour would he accomplish the day's work of a more ordinary and plodding mind. A warm day in early spring, would lure him from his books, and despite of wind or wet he would have his ramble over hill and field. A thunder storm was his delight, and till it had passed, his accustomed seat was on the roof of the college, where his wild and restless spirit held its own mighty communings with the spirit of the lightning and storm, until the body that held it was drenched with rain, and chilled with cold. He passed whole summer days upon the summit of Gray Lock, companionless yet happy, for there the world was wide enough for his far ranging spirit, and not circumscribed by near mountains which seemed to cheat the sky of its horizon.

In an old tree that grew before his window he had built himself a seat, which he had surrounded with choice specimens of bird and beast—and very dear was the friend whom he would allow to sit beside him there. The only quarrel he had during his whole college course with any one, was when an impudent and imprudent sophomore once climbed into this seat while Roger was at recitation in Logic. To the great surprise of the worthy officer of the class, and the no small astonishment of his class-mates, he sprang from his seat, gazed a moment from the window, and hastily, without even the premonitory bow for permission, prescribed by college etiquette, darted from the room, and the sight of an unhappy sophomore dangling by the shoulders from the largest limb of the tree where he had been, and by his own pocket handkerchief, greeted the sight of the whole college for the succeeding hour or two. After which Roger allowed him to descend and applied a gentle admonition to his back with a birch stick; a procedure which the unfortunate individual feelingly remarked, was "adding insult to injury."

But when let alone, a more kind hearted and harmless person than Roger breathed not the breath of life, and thus was he loved by all, the sophomore whom he had castigated, not excepted, for the individual was not of a malevolent disposition, and soon forgave him.

Roger had a great contempt for what was vulgarly called "sprees." He would as soon have smashed the head of his intimate companion, as the college windows. He saw no object, neither poetry nor romance in carrying away honest people's gates at the dead hour of night, though he always thought that if there was any thing brave or manly in it "that he *could* do it." He never stole the church bell clapper, by which sundry good old ladies thought that they had mistaken the day, and that it was Sunday after all, and so took off their silk gowns, and went to

baking bread. He never tore out the leaves of the chapel bible, for that was unqualifiedly mean; and Roger never did a mean thing. He never stole the Rev. Jeremiah Kilkeal's thanksgiving turkey, for the reverend gentleman had but one, and Roger was a kind hearted fellow. Yet Roger *did* love a practical joke as witness one that he practiced upon Alderman Soapy, his most esteemed and intimate friend.

It was a dark and rainy night of early winter, and very cold. Roger was sitting in his room debating in his own mind whether he should freeze to death or go out and bring in some of his wood which lay cut and piled beneath his window. He had nearly adopted the former conclusion, and was about closing his eyes to undergo the process, when his friend entered.

"Ah! Alderman! you are just the man I have been wanting to see."

"Ah!"

"Yes! my dear fellow! you are always wide awake for a spree, what do you say to hooking Jonathan Blueface's wood, it is right out here by the window."

"What! the old covey that rooms right over you!"

"Yes."

"Well! I don't know him personally, but I hate his looks."

"He *does* look like thunder."

"Well! I'm on hand."

Roger very carefully led the way to the hall door, where he stopped, and pointing out the pile of wood to his friend, observed,

"Now Alderman! we must be quick, you pass in the wood, and I'll pitch it into the room."

Manfully Alderman worked, while Roger indulged himself in hearty smiles which the darkness of the evening concealed from his friend. At length the wood was safely stored away, and Alderman exclaimed while he puffed from exertion,

"I wonder what old Blueface will say when he finds his wood all gone—nice lot of it ain't there Roger?"

"Yes."

"How he'll look won't he?"

"I should think he would." "Alderman" continued Roger after a pause, "allow me to express my thanks to you."

"O! not at all: you are perfectly welcome."

"But Alderman! I really am obliged to you for bringing in my wood."

"Your wood," exclaimed Alderman with an indescribable look, "Now Roger," continued he rising with a clenched fist and flashing eyes, "from this day, henceforth and forever our friendship ceases."

"O! Alderman!"

"Yes! I tell you yes."

"Why Alderman!" said Roger quietly filling his stove with the wood, "if you really are angry, you can help me pitch it out again."

Roger made the observation with such a look of comic sorrow that Alderman, who was a fine fellow at heart and very fond of a joke himself, could not resist the contagion, but bursting into a laugh, caught Roger by the hand, and their friendship was firmer than ever.

On the day of his graduation, Roger was received with a murmur of applause by the audience as he first stepped upon the stage, and heard in admiring silence till the last echo of his voice had died away like a strain of music stealing on the ear at twilight's gentle hour.

Beloved and admired he left the shades of W——'s. Of a disposition too active and uneasy to immediately commence the study of any profession, he concluded to pass a year or two in rambling about the universe, for general information of men and things. After due reflection he determined to take a pedestrian tour, as being better adapted to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge.

His point of departure was a little town in the southern part of Pennsylvania, where he was born, and whither he had proceeded upon leaving college.

It was near the close of a lonely day in September that Roger cast his fly into the little stream Wapsapenacon. A huge trout had jumped at it, and Roger missing him was carefully trailing his line in hopes of another jump, when he heard a faint giggling laugh almost directly over his head. Starting at the sound he looked up and saw two females, evidently from their proportions, of the Dutch gender.

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A more uneasy gentleman than our hero it would be difficult to find. He could not study more than an hour at a time for his life; yet in that hour would he accomplish the day's work of a more ordinary and plodding mind. A warm day in early spring, would lure him from his books, and despite of wind or wet he would have his ramble over hill and field. A thunder storm was his delight, and till it had passed, his accustomed seat was on the roof of the college, where his wild and restless spirit held its own mighty communings with the spirit of the lightning and storm, until the body that held it was drenched with rain, and chilled with cold. He passed whole summer days upon the summit of Gray Lock, companionless yet happy, for there the world was wide enough for his far ranging spirit, and not circumscribed by near mountains which seemed to cheat the sky of its horizon.

In an old tree that grew before his window he had built himself a seat, which he had surrounded with choice specimens of bird and beast—and very dear was the friend whom he would allow to sit beside him there. The only quarrel he had during his whole college course with any one, was when an impudent and imprudent sophomore once climbed into this seat while Roger was at recitation in Logic. To the great surprise of the worthy officer of the class, and the no small astonishment of his class-mates, he sprang from his seat, gazed a moment from the window, and hastily, without even the premonitory bow for permission, prescribed by college etiquette, darted from the room, and the sight of an unhappy sophomore dangling by the shoulders from the largest limb of the tree where he had been, and by his own pocket handkerchief, greeted the sight of the whole college for the succeeding hour or two. After which Roger allowed him to descend and applied a gentle admonition to his back with a birch stick; a procedure which the unfortunate individual feelingly remarked, was "adding insult to injury."

But when let alone, a more kind hearted and harmless person than Roger breathed not the breath of life, and thus was he loved by all, the sophomore whom he had castigated, not excepted, for the individual was not of a malevolent disposition, and soon forgave him.

Roger had a great contempt for what was vulgarly called "sprees." He would as soon have smashed the head of his intimate companion, as the college windows. He saw no object, neither poetry nor romance in carrying away honest people's gates at the dead hour of night, though he always thought that if there was any thing brave or manly in it "that he *could* do it." He never stole the church bell clapper, by which sundry good old ladies thought that they had mistaken the day, and that it was Sunday after all, and so took off their silk gowns, and went to

baking bread. He never tore out the leaves of the chapel bible, for that was unqualifiedly mean; and Roger never did a mean thing. He never stole the Rev. Jeremiah Kilkeal's thanksgiving turkey, for the reverend gentleman had but one, and Roger was a kind hearted fellow. Yet Roger *did* love a practical joke as witness one that he practiced upon Alderman Soapy, his most esteemed and intimate friend.

It was a dark and rainy night of early winter, and very cold. Roger was sitting in his room debating in his own mind whether he should freeze to death or go out and bring in some of his wood which lay cut and piled beneath his window. He had nearly adopted the former conclusion, and was about closing his eyes to undergo the process, when his friend entered.

"Ah! Alderman! you are just the man I have been wanting to see."

"Ah!"

"Yes! my dear fellow! you are always wide awake for a spree, what do you say to hooking Jonathan Blueface's wood, it is right out here by the window."

"What! the old covey that rooms right over you!"

"Yes."

"Well! I don't know him personally, but I hate his looks."

"He *does* look like thunder."

"Well! I'm on hand."

Roger very carefully led the way to the hall door, where he stopped, and pointing out the pile of wood to his friend, observed,

"Now Alderman! we must be quick, you pass in the wood, and I'll pitch it into the room."

Manfully Alderman worked, while Roger indulged himself in hearty smiles which the darkness of the evening concealed from his friend. At length the wood was safely stored away, and Alderman exclaimed while he puffed from exertion,

"I wonder what old Blueface will say when he finds his wood all gone—nice lot of it ain't there Roger?"

"Yes."

"How he'll look wont he?"

"I should think he would." "Alderman" continued Roger after a pause, "allow me to express my thanks to you."

"O! not at all: you are perfectly welcome."

"But Alderman! I really am obliged to you for bringing in my wood."

"Your wood," exclaimed Alderman with an indescribable look, "Now Roger," continued he rising with a clenched fist and flashing eyes, "from this day, henceforth and forever our friendship ceases."

"O! Alderman!"

"Yes! I tell you yes."

"Why Alderman!" said Roger quietly filling his stove with the wood, "if you really are angry, you can help me pitch it out again."

Roger made the observation with such a look of comic sorrow that Alderman, who was a fine fellow at heart and very fond of a joke himself, could not resist the contagion, but bursting into a laugh, caught Roger by the hand, and their friendship was firmer than ever.

On the day of his graduation, Roger was received with a murmur of applause by the audience as he first stepped upon the stage, and heard in admiring silence till the last echo of his voice had died away like a strain of music stealing on the ear at twilight's gentle hour.

Beloved and admired he left the shades of W——'s. Of a disposition too active and uneasy to immediately commence the study of any profession, he concluded to pass a year or two in rambling about the universe, for general information of men and things. After due reflection he determined to take a pedestrian tour, as being better adapted to gratify his curiosity and extend his knowledge.

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all the expressive affection her moon-like visage was capable of containing.

"My dear sir, my fair lady," said Roger, gently disengaging himself from the one, and bowing to the other, "it affords me sincere sorrow to be compelled by my peculiar circumstances to decline the honor of an alliance with your respectable family; and truly I am not worthy of so lovely a being as your graceful daughter."

"Vot does he zay daddy?"

"Vy! Kate, he says he vont have you."

The damsel flung herself upon the ground in an attitude that might have been graceful in some ladies, but which gave her very much the appearance of a pumpkin done up in calico, and began to indulge in most lugubrious lamentations.

"Dere zir you see dat you have destroyed de peace of mein family."

"I regret it sir, most——"

"Dere is de road to B——, I wish you good pye."

Happy to be relieved from his embarrassing situation, even in this summary manner, Roger once more shouldered his knapsack, and departed on his way somewhat lightened of his sorrow by catching a glimpse of the remaining daughter of the honest Dutchman, laughing most heartily at her sister from the pantry window.

He had proceeded on his journey several days without meeting with any adventure worthy of note, until he reached a ferry on the Susquehannah. On his arrival he was informed that one boat had been carried away by a freshet and the other was across the river, but would be in readiness very soon. What precise meaning was attached to the words "very soon," was left for him to discover. Impetuous by nature and anxious to reach the town of C—— before night fall, he looked the very picture of impatience, until after waiting ten minutes he rushed into a spruce little inn close by the ferry house.

"Landlord, is there no way to get over the river, besides the ferry?"

"No,—unless you swim over."

"Confound the fellow's laziness! How long does it take him to row over and back?"

"Sometimes more, sometimes less."

During this brief conversation the landlord's eyes were turned with an awfully inquisitive gaze upon our hero, who now looked out of one window, then out of the other, then at the clock in the corner, and then out of the door. At length Boniface seemed satisfied that he had hit upon an idea. No honest man would be in such a hurry, and a trunk had been cut from the boot of the stage the week before. So a boy was despatched to 'Squire

Van Schaik, while he himself waited to detain the boat if it should happen to arrive too soon.

The urchin ran as fast as his stumpy figure would permit, and there soon appeared, drawing towards the ferry, a body of Dutchmen, one of whom slapped his hand upon the shoulder of Roger, exclaiming,

"Zir, you be mein prisoner."

Roger replied by a blow which felled the lump of flesh, and darting away from them would have escaped, if a weight of 300 lbs. in the shape of Schiller Von Speilback had not fallen upon him from the upper side of the path he was pursuing: firmly clasped between the huge legs of the ancient Dutchman, all hopes of escape forsook him, and the puffing and blowing party of whom he had taken such uncereemonious leave, soon rolling up to him, he was firmly confined and led before Justice Von Schellenburgh, just as that magnate was sitting down to dinner.

The justice was jealous for the cause of righteousness, and doubly enraged at the delay of the dinner. So he "put on his fiercest frown," and prepared to do his duty to the State.

The innkeeper, almost the only Yankee in the neighborhood, was scandalized at Roger's haste to get out of the hotel, and his neglect of the bar. Moreover the ferryman was his particular friend. So he stepped out, a swift witness against the prisoner.

"Well your honor," said he, acting both as witness and attorney, "I'll show you this fellow's guilty in no time. You see he comes into my bar room and doesn't ask for a drop of drink. There's proof for you. Does any honest man come into my house and not drink? Your honor knows that your honor always asks for a drop of—"

"Katrina! don't let de dinner get colt," shouted the justice, rapping on the door of the adjoining room.

"And then, you honor must know that he couldn't sit still, but keeps bobbing up and down, and swears he'll swim across the river if the boat don't come back."

"Ver goot."

"And more'n that, when the constable comes up he licks him over the scone and runs away, and that's proof positive. And I hope your honor will hang him at least."

"Vot's your name, zir?"

"Roger Restless."

"Ver pad name! Vereapouts tid you rob de coach?"

To this interrogatory Roger simply interposed a denial of having committed any crime whatever.

"Vot! you teny your guilt, to yer? Vy man, 'tis legiply written upon yer vace! In tefault of pail, I shall commit yer to de coundy jail till de February courd. You vill have four months

to tink ov yer sinful contition, afore you go to de state brison. Katrina! pring de mug ov zider, and set de tinner all ready while I make out dis mittimus."

But our hero's detention was of short continuance. The stage drove up to the inn-door, and one of the passengers brought news that *the* robber was safely immured in the county jail the day before. So Roger was set at liberty with an admonition not to "pe in zuch a hurry de next time," and made the best of his way for the town of C—.

There he received a letter from home earnestly desiring his immediate return, to take possession of the fortune of a maiden aunt, who had just deceased. He departed the next morning, fully resolved to travel out of the reach of Dutchmen in his next expedition. Should he set forth again the reader may hear of him. If he becomes domestic, and rests content with his present knowledge of men and things, the reader will join with me in wishing him health, prosperity and a long life.

ROBERT EASY.

THE MYSTERY OF HAPPINESS.

Why should men be sad and lonely,
In the pilgrimage of earth?
Not for tears and sorrow only,
Nor for loneliness had he birth.

In the heart are kindly feelings
For the holy and the pure,
Founts of deep and high revealings,
Friends to cherish, love to lure.

All of nature that is in us
Bids us love, believe and trust.
Nature round us seeks to win us
To a friendship true and just—

Bright companionship of flowers,
On the mountain, in the vale,
Breezes 'mid our garden bowers,
Songs upon the passing gale.

Stars, that were the friends of sages,
In the days of ancient lore,
Stand upon night's mystic pages,
To be read and loved once more.

Not that we may read them nightly,
For the mystery of their end,
Studied, pondered over rightly
Grows more hard to comprehend.

Yet the lesson we may gather
From the starry book above,
Speaks a kind and gentle Father,
Mighty in his truth and love.

Not for loving or believing
Need we understanding's aid;
Who sees t' "tiny shuttles" weaving?
Forest leaf or meadow blade?

The Mystery of Happiness.

Clouds that glide along the heaven,
Waves that dance upon the sea,
Fragrance to the breezes given,
Incense from the dewy lea;

Voice of brook and gushing fountain,
Insect on the sunny hill,
Birds upon the leafy mountain,
Fish within the glassy rill,—

Who can hear these merry voices
From a world so gay and glad,
When the universe rejoices,—
Who can hear them and be sad?

Is it not at war with reason,
Not to love where all should please?
Is it not a deadly treason
To the God who gave us these?

To the sky, the earth and ocean,
Open then your fondest heart,
With the beat of each emotion
Happiness shall be your part.

Learn to shun the path of sorrow,
From the grey and ivied past,
Treasure gladness for the morrow
From the pearls before you cast.

Through the tomb's deep-gathering shadows
See the land of Canaan rise,
See the pleasant streams and meadows,
In the homes of Paradise.

CHENLYRA.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

IN no century, since the christian era, has the human mind been more active than in the fifteenth. It was not, indeed, until the sixteenth that that mighty movement was completely triumphant, which released the mind of man from the shackles of superstition; but in the preceding century its first manifestations were made, and it was only checked for a time by the strong hand of power.

During the middle ages, the human mind had slept a death-like sleep; but the revival of letters began to dawn upon the world, and, as the darkness disappeared before the clear light of the morning, it was inspired with new life. It would no longer endure to grovel in the dust. If it were baffled in the pursuit of religious liberty, its energies were directed into other channels, and were more successful. Its workings are traced in the progress of maritime discovery; in the invention and improvement of various arts; in the gradual unfolding of a sense of political rights on the part of the people; and in the revival of a taste for ancient literature.

Hitherto, navigation had been confined, almost entirely, to the Mediterranean; but now the mariner ventured out into the broad Atlantic, and discoveries were made in rapid succession. It was a popular belief, that those who sailed south beyond a certain latitude, would be changed into blacks; but this was disregarded by the fearless navigators, and the discovery of the passage of the cape of Good Hope was the reward of their enterprise. By the genius of Columbus, a new continent emerged from the western ocean, destined, ere long, to exhibit a glorious spectacle of human progress.

Many of the most useful arts had their origin, or introduction into general use, in this century. Artillery began now to be universally employed in war, and its utility was speedily evinced. In addition to the common banditti of the mountains, there existed throughout Europe another kind of robbers, who committed depredations more openly, and more extensively. They were lordly barons, possessing castles built upon rocky heights, and impregnable to all the force which could then be brought against them. They would issue forth from these strong holds, plunder the surrounding country, and return laden with the booty. The

offensive arms, used up to this time, could make no impression upon these rock-built fortresses; but when artillery was brought to bear against them, their walls were leveled, and the husbandman was enabled to cultivate his fields in safety. The use of the magnetic needle was at this time more generally introduced. The confident mariner went forth over the untraversed ocean, having a talisman to direct his course, as potent as any possessed by an eastern magician. But the most useful invention of this century was that of the art of printing. Who can estimate its prodigious effect? Without it, the progress of civil and religious liberty would have been retarded. One essential element would have been wanting—knowledge universally diffused. The people might, at times, perhaps, free themselves from the yoke of despotism, and enjoy a transient gleam of liberty; but it would be succeeded by the thicker darkness of anarchy and violence. There must be a general dissemination of knowledge to insure the permanence of freedom.

At this time, the people throughout Europe began to exhibit that spirit of inquiry into their own political rights, which has never since slumbered. The feudal system still existed in its most revolting forms. The tiller of the soil was a mere slave, bought and sold with the land upon which he labored. But now he began to ask himself, "By what right is this done? Why am I thus bought and sold like the beast of the field? Is not God just and has he created me to be the slave of this man, who is flesh and blood like myself?" In England, by the rebellion of Wat Tyler, the people were freed from this feudal servitude, and assumed that importance which they ever after continued to exercise. The favorite distich of the people

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

illustrates the popular feeling in regard to freedom and equality. In Spain, the progress of the same independent feeling is observed. A public declaration was made in the province of Catalonia, that a king may be rightfully deposed, whenever he infringes upon the rights of his subjects. In every part of Europe the people were awakened to a sense of their rights.

The republics of Italy seem to present an exception to this general rule. While the night of the middle ages brooded over the rest of Europe, they shone forth with a brilliant lustre, increased by the surrounding darkness; but when civil and religious liberty dawned upon the nations around, these republics fell. We can account for this more readily, when we consider that they were republics in name more than in reality. In their external relations, they presented an imposing appearance, but internally,

little true liberty was found. They were a prey to bloody factions. The triumph of one party was followed by the ruin of the other. It is true, they had made progress in literature. Dante had sung of the terrors and delights of the invisible world, and Petrarch had tuned his lyre to the most tender strains; yet, Dante composed his immortal song in exile and poverty, and the bright hopes of Petrarch for the liberty of Rome and of Italy, were never realized. The tribune, Rienzi, became as great a tyrant as any of the barons. Happy would it have been for Italy, had these republics never existed. Her disjointed parts might have become united as one whole, and, though oppressed for a time by some despotic hand, she would have made gradual progress, and taken an independent stand among the nations. Instead of this, she has continually been the theatre of domestic war. In the times of the republics, their mutual jealousies involved them in ceaseless contests. Weakened by this petty warfare, they were unable to resist the foreign invader. Union among the states would have secured them from conquest; by disunion they were separately overcome, and Italy become a chess-board on which her own fair provinces were lost and won. Although in a political point of view, Italy lost her importance in Europe, yet in literature and the arts, she was the foremost in the march of improvement.

In this century a taste for ancient literature began to revive, and nothing contributed more to foster it than the arrival in western Europe of learned Greeks from Constantinople, when that city was taken by the Turks. It excites our indignation, to behold the city of Constantine, which had existed so many centuries, the abode of elegance and refinement, sacked by the brutal Turk; and we sympathize with its inhabitants, exiled, or reduced to slavery; yet the learning which had been confined within its walls, flowed forth over Europe, like a fertilizing stream, enriching the countries through which it passed. Although its inhabitants were effeminate and unwarlike, it was still the seat of ancient learning, and the liberal studies introduced among the nations of Europe by the Greek exiles, flourished with renewed vigor.—The progress of classical knowledge among the inhabitants of the “city of the seven hills,” is seen in their endeavors to preserve the crumbling monuments of their ancient greatness. And well might they shake off the stupidity in which they had been clothed for so many centuries, for the splendid remains of antiquity had nearly all disappeared. It is mournful to see the degradation of the descendants of the old Romans, during the dark ages. In nothing is this so palpable as in their treatment of the monuments and temples of their ancestors. These should have been looked upon by them with the most sacred reverence. Their hearts

should have swelled with patriotism, when they beheld the memorials of the greatness of their fathers; and they should have been ready to lay down their lives to defend them from the hand of violence. But it was far otherwise. They themselves committed the sacrilege. The northern barbarians had, indeed, stripped their ornaments; but they suffered the lofty walls to stand in all their grandeur; and it was left to the inhabitants of the city to perform the work of destruction. The unlettered savage beheld with mute astonishment the magnificent structures of the ancients and was restrained from violence; but the degenerate citizens had not even this feeling, but were ready to tear them down, and barter them away for paltry gain. Foreign princes built their palaces of stone quarried from the temples of the ancient Romans; and the houses of the petty barons of the city were often constructed of materials drawn from the same source. The Coliseum was used for the vilest purposes. The modern Roman knew less of the history of those stupendous edifices, beneath the very shade of whose walls he had spent his whole life, than the stranger who had never entered the gates of the city. But, with the revival of classical learning, an enlightened spirit was infused into the inhabitants of the imperial city, and they began to manifest some regard for the former glory of their country. The monuments of this glory they began to consider a sacred charge, committed to their keeping, which it would be the basest ingratitude to neglect. The Coliseum was surrounded by a wall, to protect it from the farther commission of violence, and other measures were taken to preserve all that remained, to denote the long-departed glory of Rome.

HISTORICUS.

THE SARACENS.

THERE are two nations on the earth, both the objects of scripture prophecy, dating their origin from an antiquity superior to any records of profane history, possessing peculiar characteristics which distinguish them from all other people, and existing through all ages as distinct races, incapable of amalgamation with any other people, by whomsoever surrounded. The one, scattered through all portions of the earth, the other inhabiting their ancient home, but both deriving their descent from a common ancestor, and preserving their identity through all the changes of time. The Jews, so long as they kept their allegiance to the God of their fathers, were children of promise, enjoyed the highest prosperity, and the blessing pronounced from the mount Ebal was fulfilled to the letter; but when they turned their backs upon His worship, perverted His law, and crowned their iniquity by rejecting Him who was promised from afar as their King and Saviour, were pursued by the curses thundered from mount Gerizim, and every day of their existence for eighteen centuries, has the cup of malediction been commended in all its bitterness to their lips. The Arabs, descended from the Father of the faithful, have, in like manner, stood before all mankind as monuments of the faithfulness of Him who promised that Ishmael should be the father of a great nation, of kings, of a people whose hand should be against every man, and every man's hand against them. From the midst of Israel issued the religion that under some modification has prevailed over one half of the globe—from the tents of Ishmael came another, that has warred successfully against both christianity and paganism, and now prevails through a large portion of the remaining moiety of the world.

When the destruction of Jerusalem and the final dispersion of the Jews had humbled and broken the Jewish faith, and christianity had gone forth into all the earth, and having gained a victory over the reigning heathenism of the Roman world and the regions adjoining, was itself corrupted, until all its distinctive features were lost in a debasing superstition, Mahomet arose to terrify christendom by an imposture more formidable than any of the systems which christianity had supplanted. The old forms of idolatry were in their dotage and the vital force of pure relig-

ion, wielded vigorously by the early christians, easily demolished a crumbling fabric which had long been an object of neglect and ridicule even to pagan philosophy. But in the sixth century the church itself seemed to dote, and Mahomet planted himself on a vantage ground similar to that which christianity, in its early period, had enjoyed.

It is not our purpose to follow the progress of the Mahometan conquests, or trace the history of the impostor, but only to glance at some of the characteristics which equally ensured the prevalence and must lead to the downfall of his religion. That which wrought such wonders in an age of superstition, is powerless at a more enlightened period, just as objects which engage the interest, or awaken the fears of children, become objects of contempt at a ripper age.

It has been well remarked, that every error which has prevailed in the world, has owed its currency to some admixture of truth in its composition. Successful error is a kind of half truth, concealing its deformity by a covering more or less symmetrical and alluring. Here we may find one source of the power of Mahometanism. Mahomet arose at a time when every prevailing religion of the world was corrupt. The church of Rome was in the full tide of idolatry, giving more honor to the Virgin than to her immaculate Son, rivalling the ancient heathen faith in the creation of demi-gods, in the form of saints, and superceding the "one Mediator between God and man" by these canonized mortals. Compared with these superstitions the religion of Mahomet was purity itself, rejecting, as it did, the worship of any being inferior to God, and denouncing idolatry with a fervor not unworthy of David and Isaiah. It acknowledged the divine mission of the Jewish prophets and of Jesus Christ, and condemned those religions, not as originally false, but as corrupt and superseded by their divine Author. With the christian, Mahomet agreed in the belief that the system of Moses was a temporary dispensation, and with him pointed out the cessation of their sacrifices and the destruction of their temple, as tokens whereby the Jews should be warned of their error in still rejecting Jesus, and of the sinfulness of their obduracy. But to the christian, in like manner, he showed the corruptions of the church, and warned him that the Lord is a God jealous of His honor, and could have no pleasure in those who had lapsed into idolatry more offensive and less excusable than that which they had displaced. Like Joshua, he was commissioned to overthrow all nations who dishonored the divine majesty by the worship of the creature, and he claimed to be the prophetic stone, cut out without hands, that should become a great mountain and fill the whole earth.

Nor was his system wanting as a moral code, when compared with its rivals. Paganism, of course could sustain no comparison with it, and christianity, in the hands of the Roman pontiff, found its severe precepts nullified by the assumed power of priestly absolution. But Mahomet claimed no such forgiving efficacy in himself, nor did he confer it upon others. He was stern and inflexible in his demands of obedience, and proclaimed the most terrible punishment as the doom of the wicked.

Is it strange, that in an age of darkness, such a religion, exhibiting truths long perverted and overgrown with superstitions, should prevail, in spite of the many absurdities which an oriental imagination had conceived and mingled with them? Who could have predicted that, after ten centuries, the christian church should be reformed, and the abominations of Rome repudiated by the half of Christendom? To human eyes there appeared nothing in the church to secure it from abrogation, and if Providence had permitted the Arabian imposture to prevail over Europe, it would have seemed an unanswerable refutation of the claims of christianity to universal and perpetual supremacy. As it was, the contest was long and doubtful, and when the barrier, finally set to the empire of the Saracens, began to remove backward, and christendom began an aggressive warfare upon the then imbecile Turks and Moors, the reformation broke out, and went forward in a more swift and radical overthrow of ecclesiastical corruption and tyranny, than any power, other than that of truth undefiled, could have effected. Since that time the crescent has been waning, and the cross, stripped of those Babylonish garments that obscured its simplicity and palsied its power, rose higher and still rises in the moral and political firmament.

Nor was less sagacity shown by Mahomet in the composition of his creed, than in the method of its propagation. He obtained a foothold in Arabia by preaching, addressed alike to the reason and credulity of his countrymen and to their native pride and prejudices. The God whom he declared, was the God of Abraham, from whose loins the Arabs descended. To that nation there was opened the fulfilment of the Divine promise that kings should arise from the descendants of Ishmael, would they only return to their individual allegiance. But when his strength had increased, having drawn much of his doctrine from both the Jewish and Christian religion, he adopted the tactics of the Papacy, and went out to compel obedience. His system and his preaching were well adapted to create a national faith, that should be nourished by the hope of foreign subjugation and political supremacy, and endure as long as hope reigned in the bosom of his followers, even if their propagandism were not immediately successful. He was spared the pain of so limited a victory by the

weakness of the Roman Empire, and the deep barbarism of the rest of the world. The imperial city of Constantinople was taken and the crescent erected upon the towers of St. Sophia. The Saracens planted themselves in Jerusalem, in Spain and in Northern Africa. They spread throughout the old empires of Assyria, Persia, Macedon and Egypt, and penetrated the great Indian peninsula, where their blood-cemented dominion was only supplanted by the power of Great Britain.

The causes we have mentioned were precisely adapted to erect a formidable system, a terror and a scourge to its opposers, but one that in its nature is temporary. Its time has indeed been long, but its reign is visibly drawing to an end. The corruptions of christianity have been measurably purged, and have given way to purer and better principles. When the benumbing power of superstition was removed, the vital energies of Truth, once more free, have begun to shake this colossal error in every portion of its vast domain. It was one thing to despise the mummeries of priestcraft during the centuries of undisputed papal usurpation—it is quite another to meet the Bible face to face, and attempt to palm off the Koran as a revelation from the same all-wise God. And even if the Bible were not brought into direct competition with it, it could never bear up under the weight of error which science could detect in its theories of creation. The idea that the Earth, like the Arabian desert, is a plain surrounded by a range of mountains—which were planted to *keep it in its place*—is a piece of absurdity matched only by the prophet's nocturnal journey to heaven. It is noticeable that the Bible, in all its references to the physical universe, says not a word, except figuratively, inconsistent with modern Astronomy; while Mahomet, in common with the teachers of all other false religions, gives minute descriptions, that in the light of modern discovery bear the brand of falsehood on their face. His system was the product of a comparatively dark age; it thrived in the darkness, and stood up when the sun arose, like a great mushroom, only to be trodden into the earth. That is its doom. Its inconsistency with reason and science, irrespective of the existence of a purer and better faith, must have made it contemptible in the eyes of an enlightened age, and caused it to fall before a rival system, or be swallowed up in the hungry vortex of skepticism.

And not only is it powerless as a moral system, but all means of propagating itself by force are wrested from it by the political regeneration of Europe, and the reconstruction of modern kingdoms that followed the demolition of the Roman empire. A barrier was erected against the progress of oriental conquest which has been only strengthened by the lapse of time, and christendom is now extending its boundary, encroaching on the rest of the

world, and preparing at no very distant period, to embrace the whole earth within its expanding limits. The Asiatic empires are dead masses, that have subsisted until now by the exclusion of light and air. On the first blast of the vital breezes that flow in from the mountains of Europe and this new world, they crumble and must perish and give way to new and stronger formations. The Ottoman empire is a dead corpse upheld by the great powers of Europe, and at their will it must sink and become food for worms, while the fair fields that now lie desolate in its grim shadow, will revive and flourish under the mild beams and gentle influences of a christian civilization.

No one can contemplate the course of time, and suffer his mind to rest, even for a moment, on the heavings and convulsions of the vast sea of humanity, without feeling an intense interest in the developments of the future. Were the curtain dropped on the scene at this period, and the great movements of the present system suddenly arrested, who could attempt to unravel the thread of history and give any probable solution of the problem of human existence? Reason could not dare an answer. Unless the future is to disclose changes proportioned to those the past has already witnessed, we are lost in a labyrinth of uncertainty and doubt. The past would seem destitute of instruction and the present of any motive to act, other than the most short-sighted self-interest. Such we cannot believe to be the ordination of Providence. It cannot be that kingdom should have given way to kingdom, and empires have risen and decayed, and light and darkness have alternated over all nations, and man have been driven backward and forward as the current of time has shifted, without any visible object or result. It cannot be that the human race has been tossed for ages in darkness on the ocean, without the possibility of reaching a port at last. The world is

“A mighty maze, but not without a plan.”

We can catch but few glimpses of the way which stretches in either direction beyond the bound of our horizon, yet we can see enough to know that what does lie within our sight is a part, not a whole, and a part whose whole reaches forward to a result that must be worthy of the Providence that has contrived it.

With such convictions, the history of the past is no barren study. For the elements whose combination has wrought out that order of things in which we find ourselves, and which must influence incalculably our destiny, have been moving and combining for ages, and the study of the past is necessary to the knowledge of the present and of ourselves. When we glance at our position in this land and in this age, follow back our ancestry to Plymouth and Runnymede and the battle field of Hastings; and

thence to the Teutonic and Roman fountains whose streams have been blended in one, and see that we have only begun our ascent to the common head of our race; when we search out the original of all that is within and around us that has contributed to our individuality and nationality,—how inexhaustable is the theme, and how interesting is the tie that binds us to every event of recorded time! And as the actors in this terrestrial scene, great and small, have left in us the traces of their existence, so we shall leave behind us the traces of footsteps more or less distinct in the now yielding, but fast hardening Present. The study of the past and the contemplation of the future, are not, therefore, mere idle questionings, but matters of importance and responsibility and practical, personal concernment.

S.

S M O K I A N A .

—“ If you are a bachelor like me,
 And spurn all chains, even though made of roses,
I'd recommend cigars—there is a free
 And happy spirit that unseen reposes
 On the dim shadowy clouds that hover o'er you
 When smoking quietly with a warm fire before you.”

BRIGHT gleaming jewels are often hid in rude and unseemly caskets, and this shaggy, rough-looking roll of Havana, in my hand, contains imprisoned within its folded leaves, a spirit more genial, more blithe and more joyous, than ever joined the elfin dance beneath the rustling leaves, bathed in dew and glittering in the midnight moon. Let me apply the purifying fire and release the spirit from its leafy bed, and I, dear reader, will enjoy its soothing influence—perchance it may please you also.

PUFF THE FIRST.

See in what fantastic wreaths and magic rings the blue smoke circles around.—A reverie more delicious than ever entranced the senses of an inhabitant of dream land, steals over me—Gay castles builded by fairy hands are floating around on their airy foundations, and wafted on invisible wings, I am borne silently and swiftly into the well remembered regions of the past—puffing meanwhile like a locomotive, and only halting a moment for your benefit, dear reader, *to blow off the steam.*

PUFF THE SECOND.

The Dutchess of ——— who you will remember was remarkable for the brilliancy of her sparkling eyes, once said that the most delicate compliment ever paid her was by a coal-heaver, who stepped up as she was alighting from her carriage and with his crownless and brimless hat in hand, requested permission *to light his pipe at her Ladyship's eyes.* This shows the power of tobacco to elevate and refine the rude and unlettered laborer;

and we trust the time is not far distant when the humbuggery of education and religion shall give way to the more genial and enlightening influence of cigars, and then a gigantic revolution will be effected in the manners and customs of the world, to which the Crusades were child's-play in comparison.

PUFF THE THIRD.

The fragrant cloud thickens—the balmy incense rises in graceful folds, soaring upward to the blue ether, as the soul of man yearns for a higher and holier existence. Half-forgotten thoughts come crowding before me, from the spirit-land—well remembered faces look out from the blue clouds which float around me, and “scenes that erst I loved so well” pass in quick succession before me—thoughts of other days come booming one by one o’er the ocean of memory and a deep, delicious sadness steals over all the warm thoughts and sunny feelings of the heart—in short my sensations are very similar to those I experienced when first in love—Oh! if you had seen Lucy K., her dark eyes (black-er than midnight considerably) beaming so kindly and sweetly upon you—if you had heard the rich tones of her voice, more musical and melodious than Coleman’s Æolian attachment—if you had clasped her warm, white hand in yours, and felt the returning pressure thrill every nerve in your frame—if you had kissed those rosy lips, which no prudish formality made her withhold from those she loved—you would have loved, worshipped and adored her as I did—you would have chased butterflies and gathered flowers for her all day and dreamed of her all night, and wondered if the angels in heaven were half so lovely and beautiful. And probably your love like mine would, like my cigar—have *all ended in smoke*.

PUFF THE FOURTH.

The footfalls of time are unheard and unheeded when his steps tread upon flowers. The happy hours glide on unnoticed in this course, till some mischance awake us from our dreams and remind us of the hours which have sped. Even thus the fire has gradually and silently consumed the cigar on which I gazed but a moment ago in joy and in pride. The leaves which once flaunted gaily in sunny Spain—which, perchance, were kissed by the same spicy breeze which wafted the raven curls of her dark eyed daughters, are now a heap of smouldering ashes—well, Her-culaneum and Pompeii, and the cities of the plain, are no better, and he who now laments over thy fallen greatness will one day, when the spirit shall have left its clayey tenement, sink as insensible and forgotten, but may his spirit like thine, mount upward to the skies.

PUFF THE LAST.

The heavenly clouds which surrounded me are fast dissipating into thin air—the familiar forms and faces that looked out from the blue clouds have faded from my sight,

“ My visions flit.
Less palpably before me—and the glow
Which in my spirit dwelt is fluttering faint and low.”

Another hour and another month with its falsely promised blessings and its disappointed hopes will be garnered into the great store house of the past. Another hour and I shall be like you, dear reader, who have endeavored to wade through this discursive medley, asleep.

The lamp shall be extinguished which hath lit
My last cigar—and what is writ is writ,
Would it were worthier !—

but if you like it not, so much the worse for you.

L.

THE MISSION OF THE GOOSE.

PERADVENTURE there be some ready to smile at the subject matter of this lucubration. But wherefore? Hath not every one, and everything, his, her or its *mission*? You, Messrs. Editors, can testify from your own pages that the Scholar hath one, and divers celebrated orators and essayists bear witness to the same truth. And not only so, but in these ends of the world, we are told of the mission of the Poet, of Woman, of American citizens, of the Anglo Saxon race, *of little children*.^{*} That the Missionary field may be fully occupied, I do affirm that the Goose hath a mission, and that a noble one, literally and metaphorically.

No one word hath been more shamelessly abused, than that same epithet, Goose. Do young children go amiss, into the fire or water for instance,—or do amiss, play with fire and incur the consequence foreseen by sage matrons, if you please,—beside the box on the ear or the application of a broad hand posterially for the purposes of chastisement, they oft get the surname of Goose, or Gander, or Ganderhead, or Son of a Goose, as if that supposititious filiation were synonymous with hereditary folly. Do soldiers affect “the better part of valor” through a native sensitiveness to fleshly ill, or a hankering predilection for “sweet fields” *this side of* “the swelling flood,” straightway they are geese. Their own flesh and blood deny them. Human kind will nothing of them. Let them go, as did Nebuchadnezzar, henceforth no longer *Bipedes implumes*, to be wet with the dews of heaven. By the universal voice of all flesh, they are geese evermore.

Some exceptions doubtless there be to this general opprobrium. Hear the song of a rapt Tailor in his meditation on the Evening.

“Is that a swan that sails upon the water?
O no, it is that other gentle bird,
Which is the patron of our noble calling.
I well remember in my early years,
When these young hands first closed upon a GOOSE.”

And that other popular lay, which concludeth, as I remember, thus—

^{*} The Mission of Little Children. A sermon, by the Rev. E. H. CHAPIN.

“ O I wish I was a geese,
All forlorn !
O I wish I was a geese,
'Cause they lives and dies in peace,
And accumulates much grease,
Eating corn ! ”

Still, these exceptions do but prove the rule, that many who might, by a sincere use of their eyes, behold and admire the nobility of this “gentle bird,” do most vilely seek occasion to fling reproach on her snowy plumes.

The mission of the Goose is alike to the outer and inner man—to body and spirit. Vain is it to deny that man, who is indeed a living soul, hath a body as well. A body cunningly framed, with parts which seek, yea, clamor for sustenance, and that will not suffer in the soul aught of delectation except it may claim an equal partnership in bliss. Unto this body on a mission of delight come the savory members of the goose, wherein are hid unspeakable gastronomic dainties that satisfy abundantly the hungry maw, and make glad the heart of man. Wherewith should the face of an alderman shine, if not with anserous fat? How shall the heart swell with periodical gratitude at the beck of a chief magistrate, if Goosey's dying cackle be not heard for its fitting prelude? O ye spirits of past Thanksgivings! bear witness to *her* mission, and confess that without her ye would be voiceless ghosts!

And you, ye slumberers! think, ere ye lie upon your downy pillows, whence came this softness. Is it not a shame to forget whence came the couch whereon ye repose one third (or more) of your natural lives? (I speak as unto wise men.) Were it possible that ye could once be compelled, like the Spartans of old, to gather thistle-down for beds, and with weariness and painfulness and scratched fingers to lie down at the close of the day, methinks ye would learn to give the “gentle bird” the honor that is her due, for the sake of her mission of *rest*. Talk of Morpheus and Somnus, an ye will, but consider, once in your lives, that unfabled Morpheus, on whose downy pinion reposing, ye forgot the petty grievances of earth, haply to dream of heaven!

Grand and inspiring as is the theme, when meditated, of this her corporeal mission, how shall I find words to express that errand of joy to the craving spirit, borne on her wings? Tell me, where were the several missions of the patriot, the scholar, the poet,—of any and all the seers of human kind, without the “grey goosequill?” Words of more than mortal music might have ravished the senses, long ago, but their echo would have been swallowed up in the greedy atmosphere, without leaving a trace behind. What is unwritten eloquence and song, but temporary pulsations of a senseless medium, reverberated in mortal ears?

And what are *ears* but drums, and those too speedily muffled?
And with these alone, matched with a tongue, where were the
past,—and what were the present?

“ We look before and after,
And pine for what is not ;
Our sincerest laughter
With some pain is fraught,
Our sweetest songs are those which tell of saddest thought.”

Yet, be assured, our forward and backward beholdings are naught
save through a telescope—and that telescope, a quill! Think,
too, of the generations that are gone, as though being quillless, they
had no portion in our hearts, and we no communion with them.
Hear their vain sighing for remembrance, sadly, but all hopelessly,
longing to be heard and known “ down the tide of time.”—
Their pale shadows hover round the places that knew them once
but have now forgotten them, and a voice comes from the misty
depth with the words of the patriarch, “ O that my words were
written! O that they were printed in a book!”

But no such voices haunt the night—and wherefore? Because
to heroes, sages, poets of the olden time—and to us, who abide
under the brightness of that firmament wherein they dwell and ever-
more shall dwell, lights unto the world—to us and them is *sent*
the anserous quill. She that grew it was fulfilling a *mission*—no-
bly pressing forward upon webbed feet, to accomplish the chief
end of her existence.

Ascend the stream of time, and a wider prospect opens before
us. How vast were the results that erst hung upon the cackling
of certain of this genus, when slumbering Rome was waked from
her drowsiness, all in good time to repel a stealthy foe! Tell me,
where had been the mistress of the world, with all her arts and
arms, had not the goose fulfilled a high mission on that fine morn-
ing, when sentinels were all oblivious and the foe stood at her gates?
Verily, under the shadow of those snowy wings reposed in safety
the Eternal City — under their protection Time securely
treasured up the laurels of Cæsar, the patriotism of Brutus, the
silvery eloquence of Tully, the philosophy of Cato, the lyres of
Virgil and Horace, the pandects of Justinian, the glory and beau-
ty of Art, on which the sun of Italy looks down with pride, amid
which the student revels with fresh delight from age to age. The
cackle of one flock of geese was the prelude of innumerable mar-
tial trumpets, of immortal eloquence, of divine philosophy! Here
I am lost in awe and astonishment, and my grey goosequill, sym-
pathizing with the theme, grows frisky and nervous, and I forbear.

When the mission of that flock seemed on the eve of being end-
ed it was only begun. The dark ages hid its progress from hu-

man eyes, but they were ages of incubation. Monkish wisdom, grave even in trifles, was storing up the accumulated wealth of a silent past, and from out those goose-nests was hatched the Reformation, whence rose the wondrous temple of the new civilization. Arts, science and liberty sprang into a fairer existence, and soared across oceans and continents to the uttermost parts of the earth. To him who can look steadfastly upon that old Roman pond, the spirits of the Past, as an army in white caps, "look like a flock of geese." O.

A FANTASY.

AFAR off, amid the fertile gardens of Asia, the golden beams of the setting sun illuminated a flowery plain, where verdant fields were spotted with wandering flocks, and babbling brooks vied in melody with the warblings of birds. Here welled a fountain from the earth, where wearied men and thirsty beasts might drink, and mighty trees, weighed down with verdent vestments, flung their vast arms around it, inviting to repose. Forth from this dense thicket gushed sparkling rills, and within its cooling confines, rustling leaves whispered in song to the breath of the gentle breeze. But songs were hushed, and melody was dead, for round that brimming spring sat three, than whom nought more fearful could exist—fierce Moloch, Apollyon the destroyer, and Death most terrible of all; and as the orb of day touched the horizon with its outmost verge, their incantations, fraught with deadliest ill, began.

Fount of light,
Ever bright;
By day and by night,
Bubbling, beaming, glittering, gleaming,
Flashing, streaming,
Murmuring with thy silvery sound,
Life and health diffusing round,
We bind thee with a mighty spell,
This night to do our bidding well.

By the spirits that rule over earth and air, -
 Hideous gnomes in their darksome lair,
 Fiends and elfs, with their goblin train,
 Shadowy shapes, and visions vain;
 By the spirits that rule o'er the ocean wave,
 In dark, and slimy, and noisome cave,
 Where the billows rave,
 And horrible monsters their foul forms lave;
 By the spirits that ride on the whirlwind's back,
 In the rushing gale, and tornado's track,
 By the blast, and the storm, and the tempest's power,
 That riot in wrath at the midnight hour;
 By those mighty spirits of heavenly birth,
 Who wrested from God this most beautiful earth,
 And with fiendish mirth,
 Consum'd it by pestilence, war, and dearth;
 By the fearful three
 Who stand o'er thee;
 By him whom ever *we* obey,
 Whose power we own,
 Who holds all beings in his sway,
 Save God alone,
 We bid thee do our wile aright,
 Obey—obey—
 Our dread commands, our words of might,
 Obey—obey—
 Till morning's light shall chase the night
 Away—away—
 We charge thee do our bidding right,
 Obey—obey—
 Each living thing that tastes thy spring
 Must die;
 And none who lave in thy crystal wave
 May fly;
 Nor man nor beast may 'scape the feast
 Of Death;
 But on thy brim must yield to him
 Their breath.

Whatever shall enter thy charnel bound,
 Whatever shall tread on thy haunted ground,
 Whatever shall list to thy fearful sound,
 Whatever shall look on the thicket around,
 Must perish—mid violence, strife, and pain,
 With frenzied rage, and with struggling vain,
 Till Slaughter, and Death, and Destruction reign,
 In this loveliest spot of this beautiful plain.

Long and loud laughed that terrible three, as the sun sank suddenly down and deep darkness veiled the lovely landscape. Then

rose the calm, clear orb of the full moon in the eastern sky, bathing the world in liquid light, flooding that plain, so lately golden, with the pale and glittering hue of silver, and all was fair and still.

But the fearful spell was working fast, and that gushing fount, with its tangled thicket of verdant trees, was dark and drear and dread. Instead of the nightingale's song, arose the hoot of the dismal owl, the hiss of the serpent, the croak of the swollen toad. No longer burst into the glad light, the crystal spring with bubbling brilliancy, but turgid, angry, midnight-black, it swelled, and hissed, and rolled its deadly tide along the darksome channel, withering with poisonous blight the blooming flowers and springing grass, till all it touched was stiffened, black and dead. Foul and fetid rose the spray from the sable pool, and every drop, under the influence of that mighty spell, became endowed with life; life, that was cold, and fell, and death-like, as the demon shapes who gave it; and spreading thick among the tangled foliage, loaded the air with noisome vapor. Goblin forms, of sombre hue, with bat-like wings, and lifeless, staring eye-balls, flitted about with noiseless, dreamy motions, while shrieks and yells of quivering pain, and choking moans, and gasping smothered sobs, swept along with echoeless sound.

And without, in the sweet moonlight, the shepherd tuned his pipe and sang of love, to warm hearts bounding at the thrilling, soul-felt words. The nightingale poured forth his strains of sweetest melody, and the song of the cicada mingled with its gushing tones, until the air was filled with tuneful sounds. Soft breezes from the isles wafted sweet, spicy odors o'er the plain, while orange groves poured out their richest fragrance, and the breath of million flowers perfumed the loaded air. Peaceful men were offering up their vesper worship to the God whom they adored. White-haired sages gazed upon the brilliant dwellers of the sky, tracing the fancied outline of their mazy constellations, and all was calm, and bright, and glad.

Deep in that darksome dell, the fiendish crew raved on, and lo! two thirsty lions sought their well known haunt, from either side, and meeting by the fount, disdained to yield the prior draught. Glaring they stood, and the damp spray rose round them, wrapping their forms about and settling on their skin, while at its poisonous touch, their reddening eyes flashed fire, their parching lips distending, showed their angry jaws, their shaggy manes tossed wild and high, while hovering round them myriad fiends, with fiery dart and stinging scourge, lashed them to furious rage. With low, half-stifled growl, rising and swelling to a deafening roar, each rushed against the other. Claspings they fell, and fierce within the quivering flesh sank their sharp fangs. Deep drank they

blood, and maddened by the infuriate draught, they howled and yelled in agony of rage; and while they rolled and writhed upon the upturn, trampled earth, with arrowy speed shot forth the fearful boa, wreathing their strained and tortured limbs with dread envelopment. Striving, struggling, agonizing, they gnashed their teeth in frenzied wrath, and vainly raging, fell; but fell not unavenged, for mangled, torn and bleeding with the ghastly wounds inflicted in the dying struggles of those giant brutes, the conquerer became the victim too. His failing strength sufficed not to unwreath the fatal folds, and thus they died, an undistinguishable mass of lifeless matter. As the last convulsive groan of the savage beasts died away into a momentary silence, again the shrieks, and sobs, and peals of fiendish mirth, rang out amid the darkness, exulting in the feast already gained, and revelling in the hope of yet more wide-spread carnage.

And without in the clear moonlight, the notes of the cicada still mingled with the bulbul's song, and breezes laden with perfume yet swept o'er the flowery plain. In many a verdant glade, among the tall majestic trees, the moon's bright rays looked down, where youthful forms were winding through the mazy dance, to the warbled measures of some rustic reed, while gray-haired sires looked on in well pleased admiration. The fleecy flocks were sleeping o'er the plain. Their watchful shepherds by their side reclined, or gazed upon the moon, and thought, perchance, of love: and all was peaceful, calm and bright.

And still around that spell-bound spring, the work of death went on, and louder, fiercer grew the sounds of strife. It seemed as if creation broad had sent her monsters to the combat.—The spreading grove was filled and crowded thick with furious beasts in deadly fight. The mighty elephant was there, with high-raised trunk, and gleaming tusks, suffused with gore; the fell rhinoceros; the crocodile, with scaly armor, crushed and rent amid his ponderous foes; the hippopotamus of giant bulk, and all the smaller, fiercer tribes, from kingly lions down to ravening dogs; not one was wanting from the murderous carnage. The soil was trampled, torn, and mired with blood. The tangled brush was trodden down. The spring was choked with bleeding, lifeless forms. The dead and dying lay in mingled heaps, and o'er them swayed the struggling foes, who yet had strength to kill. The hoarse, deep roars of raging combatants; the yells of rage; the cries of pain; the quivering groan; the gurgling gasp of death; the rending limbs and gnashing teeth; the splashing fall of bodies hurled on high by mangling tusks; and all the thousand sounds of deadly strife, mingled together, and swelled up to heaven in one tremendous diapason; while high above the mighty din, rang, 'mid the darkness, fiendish shrieks, and yells, and mocking laughter, clear and shrill.

The bright moon rode on in the cloudless sky, looking down on the mountain's rugged brow; and gilding its craggy cliffs; bathing in splendor the verdant vale, and brightening the silvery rill; adorning the stately palace, and lingering round the lowly cot.— In silent majesty it coursed its stately way, till slowly sinking in the West, it faded from the sight. Then rose the morning sun, and threw its gladsome beams abroad, arousing all to life and action. But dense, black clouds hung o'er the fatal spring, and never more may cheerful sun or peaceful moon pierce through the sable pall, to bring to light the hideous relics of that demon feast.

* * *

EDITORS' TABLE.

If this number seem to have been longer in its preparation than some others, and more than usually dilatory in making its appearance, let the reader imagine himself doing any accustomed act for the last time, and guess how long it would take him to finish it. Let him remember that when we have scrawled these few lines we shall be *functus officio*. Thus mindful, he may well infer that we are in "no particular hurry" to have done with it. But we come at last.

OUR DRAWER.—Before our labors come to a final close, it is meet that we set our house in order, and in pursuance of this laudable design our drawer shall "make a clean breast of it." Its contents lie before us,—a goodly pile,—ready to be dealt with "according to our law," and yet we are reluctant, just at this time, to put on the black cap. One by one, the catalogue of "murdered innocents" is read into our ears by some invisible Mouth, that seems to whisper in the pauses, "Enough!" Here are some that, by their looks, have slept a long sleep in some narrow cell, and have escaped our notice hitherto. Others look more fresh and hearty, but our souls relent towards all. Therefore IT IS CONSIDERED, *per totam curiam*, that four or five be drawn by lot from the aggregate and honorably discharged, and that the sentence of the rest be mercifully commuted into perpetual banishment.

So! here are four discharged ones ready to go their ways. The reader shall catch a glance of them as they pass, however. The first gives his name, SAMUEL J. MILLS. Seriously, we beg the reader's pardon for suffering the copy of a letter from MILLS to get crammed out of our sight into some hidden corner, and now come up, dirty and dog-eared, to reproach us. We will give an extract, which is all that we can do just now. The letter was addressed to Rev. Mr. Burgess, and bears date 1816. Mark the unaffected modesty with which he speaks of his agency in the great plans of Christian benevolence.

"Excuse my negligence for not writing at an earlier date. You would be pleased, perhaps, to know how I have been occupied since I saw you last. But on this subject I shall be very brief. The winter past I spent principally at Newark, N. J. By taking a central station I was in hopes of being able to aid in the formation of the then contemplated General Bible Society. My efforts to effect this object have not been entirely in vain. Though I took no conspicuous part in its establishment, still I was active in removing objections which existed in the minds of some men of influence against the object.—You have no doubt seen the Constitution of the American Bible Society, and the Address of the Convention of Delegates from the dif-

ferent Bible Societies who were assembled in this city in the month of May last. They were very unanimous in their proceedings. The Society is daily gaining strength. Its funds amount to about 15,000 dollars, including the donation of the President of 10,000 dollars.

"It is some satisfaction to me that I have been enabled in any way to aid in the formation of this illustrious institution. I am now occupied, a part of my time, in distributing the Constitution and Address of the Society, and in collecting subscriptions and donations in aid of its funds.

"I was not without hope when I came to Newark, the early part of last winter, that soon some general movement would be made in the Presbyterian connection in favor of *Foreign Missions*. This movement has been effected. The General Assembly, at their last session at Philadelphia, chose a committee to consult with the Associate and Dutch Reformed churches, and ascertain whether there could not be a union of efforts on this subject. The committee are to draw up the Constitution of a Foreign Missionary Society, and to effect the establishment of such an institution as soon as circumstances shall permit. It will perhaps be a year before the Society will go into operation. It will probably have more immediately in view as the field of its operations, the Spanish provinces north and south of the Isthmus. Should the Society be formed as is contemplated, I shall deem it one of the grandest institutions in the States. I conceive that the object is secured. This is the Lord's doings. It ought to be marvellous in our eyes. I have been enabled to exert what influence I have in favor of this object."

The second is "*A Puritan's Son*," and his effusion bears the title of "The Stepping Stones." After remarking on the simplicity of great minds he proceeds: "Far from the least of the class, however large and respectable, are to be ranked the Pilgrims of Plymouth.—Oppressed and persecuted, hunted out of their native land for asserting and using their natural right to liberty of conscience, they take refuge in Holland. Here they remain till 'well weaned from the delicate milk of the Mother Country.' They have become settled in their determination to obey the teachings of divine truth, and are prepared fully to follow the leadings of Divine Providence. They inquire after duty and yield heartily to its solemn dictates. They declare publicly, in plain but decisive language, their reasons for emigrating to the wilds of America, and in their declaration this phrase occurs,—'though we be but as *stepping stones* to others.' Now, to say nothing of the originality and foresight of this conception, its grandeur has not been realized. And it is doubtful whether it can be by the present generation. Is not its full realization reserved for coming generations, who will witness the complete emancipation of the world from the bondage of political slavery, and the more galling chains of religious intolerance? Were they not, in fact the 'stepping stones' to the race emerging from the inquisitorial dungeons of Popery, the gloomy mazes of Mahometanism and the filthy mire of idolatry and coming up to take a firm stand upon the broad platform of equal rights and religious freedom?"

Those who, alluding to the persecutions in Massachusetts, reproach the Pilgrims with inconsistency, are sinners against historical truth. It is well to understand that *Plymouth* was a distinct and independent government, and was not united to Massachusetts till 1692. Our filial correspondent thus briefly alludes to the error. "The principles and example of the leaders of the Pilgrimage cannot be prized too highly by their descendants. They were men who lived and labored emphatically for posterity. Yet they are sometimes represented as having possessed the same spirit as those who forced them from home and country. But there is full evidence that this was not the case. For the most authentic record of the early history of Plymouth shows that she was entirely free from the persecuting spirit manifested by some of her sister colonies." He concludes his article by citing the following testimonials from Baylies, in relation to the learning and high scholarship of the Pilgrims. "The early literature of New England has been unjustly depreciated. The notion has been too common that the Puritans, although pious, sober, and moral, were illiterate and ignorant." "In 1639 the College at Cambridge was founded. The first degrees were conferred in 1642," (being the 22d year after the first foot was set on Plymouth rock.) "The first two Presidents of this College were Henry Dunster, and Charles Chauncy, who both resided at Scituate, in the colony of Plymouth." He next proceeds to speak briefly of about 50 men of distinguished respectability and learning, mostly ministers of Plymouth. Many of them were educated in the universities of England. Mention is made of "Thomas Parker the first pastor of Newbury Church, who had been educated at Dublin under the care of Archbishop Usher. He spoke Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, as familiarly as English." "To this catalogue may be added the names of several others. The period during which these illustrious men flourished, extends from 1620 to 1640. Plymouth had been settled twenty years, Massachusetts eleven, and New Haven and Connecticut two or three. The whole population of these colonies in 1640, probably did not exceed 6 or 8000 souls. Yet, where in an equal promiscuous population, at that period, could have been found so many men, distinguished for literature and of learned educations? It is true that their writings and teachings were generally on subjects of polemic divinity, but amongst them were those who had attended to the sciences, sound mathematicians, astronomers and learned physicians." "As classical scholars, our pilgrim fathers have found no rivals amongst us:—they were familiar with the Latin and Greek, and all the clergy wrote those languages with ease and elegance, and spoke them fluently, and in the Hebrew they were profound critics." "In controversial divinity, logic, and metaphysics, they were unrivalled."

"Upon the whole, when we compare our classical acquirements with those of our forefathers, we have no reason to be proud. Few can be found at this day in this great nation, who are the equals of Chauncy, Wilson, Cotton, Hooker, Bulkley, Parker, Lothrop, Norton or Rogers."

The third bears in his hand the report of the committee on Geolo-

gy to the Lyceum of Natural History, from which we make the following descriptive extract. "The most remarkable natural curiosity that attracted our attention, was the gorge, through which the brook passes southeast of Brayton's factory. The stream is small and cannot have been much known, or we should have heard something of the extraordinary scenery it presents. After leaving the interval lands which border upon the Hoosic, we entered a woody ravine, and followed its windings with a gentle ascent for nearly a mile. Through all this distance the bed of the brook is thickly strewn with quartz boulders, and the banks furnish ample material to occupy the leisure hours of a botanist. The ground here begins to rise more rapidly, and we come upon the mountain strata of talcoze slate dipping towards the east at an angle of 60° or 70° . The scenery becomes more wild, and the fallen trees, moss-covered rocks and tangled thickets, made us feel as though we had entered a place never before explored by human eye. The rocks on each side gradually became more precipitous till, by a gentle curve in the channel, we were brought in view of a magnificent cascade. The water comes foaming and tumbling over an irregular rocky declivity inclined at an angle of about 70° and of about 40 feet perpendicular descent. At the foot of the cascade is a basin of a few yards, and on the north side a perpendicular wall of rock rises to the height of 100 feet, crowned to the very brink with lofty hemlocks and maples. On the other side the ascent is less precipitous, and not more than 70 or 80 feet high. Between these banks the air is moist with spray, and the rocky walls are in many places covered with a green coat of moss, rock polypod and liverwort. In this gorge, on a fallen fragment of slate, we sat down,—and we might have sat there for hours, without being weary, or wishing to change our place. The wild roar of the falling waters, and the deep bass produced by the reverberation of the cliffs, gave us a conception of what is meant by "Nature's music" such as we never had before. We would not compare the scene to Niagara, or to other cataracts of far humbler pretensions. But as we sat by this quiet and almost unknown waterfall in the midst of "God's first temples," a peaceful, soothing influence came over the spirit, which may be felt but cannot be described."

Good. We wish we had been there too.

The next, alas! looks like a poet, and the dainty leaf he carries in his hand hath inscribed on it certain lines severally beginning with capital letters. We subtract four stanzas from a rhymed catalogue of "Emblems of Life."

"The mist the morning hour beholds,
With morning's light shall die away,—
So life, that erst was blithe and bright,
Appears and blooms, then fades away.

Dews, that distil from heaven above,
And bathe the earth with beauty gay,
Are like our life, that young and bright
Appears and blooms, then fades away.

But thus though earthly moments flee,
 And vanish as the evening ray,
 There is a life beyond the tomb,
 Whose golden light ne'er fades away.

Let that blest life be ours to live,
 The pains of earth be what they may;
 We'll bear them all in humble faith,
 And wait for the eternal day.

While we are i' the vein of clipping, suppose we serve up another dish, cut from a "Suburban Letter" that appeared a few months ago in a New York paper. Ye amateur poets—amiable bardings! read and meditate: mark, learn and inwardly digest these wholesome teachings. There is wisdom in them. "Melancholy to relate, the day is gone by when the faculty of rhyming was considered a divine gift, and milk-maids were drawn from their obscurity to show that they were inspired. Why, to pour forth *gratis* strains to the American mountains and groves were well enough; but to demand the *quid pro quo* for something too shadowy to exist as a commodity, is an imposition which our commerce cannot tolerate. For this we have 'no consideration'—it is not down in the 'prices current'—it is not 'inquired for'—it is not set off against stocks, or American eagles, or dollars. Who asks for *poems*? The plethoric shelves answer that. Spiders see those significant words on high, as an eagle sees his prey. Look at the thoroughfares—the swift legs of pedestrians—the omnibus—driving after *poems*? Nay, rather to the Bourse, the shipping, and the carnal refectory where oysters are served up 'in all styles.' I have looked over the list of trades and professions in this city, and find some strange crafts scarcely thought of—some mermaid makers, dealers in the monstrous—some fortune-tellers, some astrologers, but no poets. It is a name not written down on any sign, or on any brass plate, nor does it usurp the place of esquire. Who cares for poetry in this community, where so many men, like *M. Jourdain*, speak prose without knowing it? The blue Kaatskills lift up their heads, and the rivers have a voice, but it is dangerous to apostrophize them in *poems*! Melancholy also, which used to be a good investment, is brought down to the hammer, and valued at a mere *song*. The turned-down collars alone remain. Words are nothing *singly*; married to the beautiful idea, their connexion is subtle and inalienable. They exist together, soul and body, and only genius can blend them in that mysterious harmony. The cold rules of *Ars Poetica* are posterior to invention; deductions merely, very justly drawn, but able to originate nothing by their arbitrary dictates. They cannot kindle the poetic glow, though they may strike off the burning flakes and scintillations. All the rules of Longinus, deeply studied, could not beget one beautiful or sublime idea. *They* did not help to make Sappho, but Sappho shed her light upon *them*. Hence so many perishable poems, and works of all kinds *after* the antique, which bear so remarkable a resemblance to

the true. They would deceive the very elect. They glow and sparkle with the freshness of eternal life. Their duration is of three weeks, and the trumpet of their fame to them the *last* trump. Like all things 'made to order,' and mechanic works, they are material, and the only thing natural about them, their tendency to decay. If this is all true, why will young men affect the 'eye in a fine frenzy rolling,' and pour forth verse in such *quantities*, as well as such quantities of verse? Why toil upward to the 'destiny of an American poet,' unless they wish to be crazy, drunken, ragged and starving, and finally have a beautiful sepulchre in Greenwood Cemetery, not far from Sylvan Water? It is better to cry hot corn in August; it is better to pop one's head out of a chimney top begrimed with soot, and look with laughing, white teeth over the city, than stand shivering and chattering on Parnassus. Who would be pointed out as a *poet*, while taking a walk on the Battery, or looking at the fountain in Union square, and not blush with as many colors as the rainbow which marshalls its beautiful forces on the spray? You might as well hire yourself out to be stared at, at Barnum's Museum, like an Albino with red eyes, or, having no arms, cut out the Lord's Prayer with your toes. But must one never write? Only not 'upon compulsion'—not for the sake of writing—not as a legitimate trade or profession—but out of the abundance of the heart."

Beg pardon for making so long a quotation, but is n't it all true? Every word of it. Some men, like Frederic the Great, have a "passion for writing indifferent poetry." The spontaneousness—the irresistible utterance, which characterizes true genius, is not infallible. Your *mediocres* are just as irresistible. They can write, they can spout, they can produce impromptus,—but it will never do to load such an extract with a commentary. Never act the *cicerone* at Niagara, or the Natural Bridge.

MOUNTAIN DAY. Since our last issue another holiday has come and gone, the last for the present year except the fourth of July. It so happens that Greylock, in our immediate vicinity, is the highest mountain in the Commonwealth, and gives a view from its summit "that for vastness and sublimity is equalled by nothing in New England except the White Hills." And it is an ancient observance to go up from this valley once in the year, to "see the world." We were not of the number who availed themselves of this *lex non scripta*, forasmuch as more than one visit in time past hath somewhat worn off the novelty of the thing. But a goodly number "went aloft," some in wagons, some on horseback, and some, of a sturdier make, on foot. Some, not content with a mountain *day*, carried their knapsacks and blankets to encamp till morning on the summit and see the sun rise. Not in the open air, however, for a magnificent timber Observatory has been set up,—a rough-hewn, sober, substantial "light-house in the skies," under whose roof is a limited portion of infinite space shielded from the winds—

"From storms a shelter, and from heat a shade."

In such a "piping time" of rest we were content to saunter about on the "little hills" that break the surface of this romantic valley, and under the shade of some old, familiar tree, to forget our daily task-work and dream of things long past, or project ourselves into an uncertain future. Uncertain indeed! for a knell from yon old steeple rolls heavily through the air, and starting at the hollow sound, skeleton forms flit through every fairy field of vision, and leer upon the sweet face of Nature. But the robin in the upper branches of this old maple, unconscious of a listener, pours forth her notes of unmixed gladness, notes that have no "dying fall,"—and the wild flowers shake their tresses in the breeze, and smile and look upward. Toll on, thou melancholy bell! Nature hath an answer of peace for every sound of woe thou canst utter; and if she fail—if the blue heaven and the green earth hold their pence, in the midst of their solemn silence a still, small voice whispers, "He that liveth and believeth in ME, SHALL NEVER DIE!"

Thus listening to the uncertain music of Nature, we spent our *mountain-day* principally in the vale. It was a sweet day in no affected sense of the word. Not the less was it, we believe, to those who engaged in the more active recreations appropriate to its name. It is indeed an exhilarating sensation that first assails him who looks from a high mountain beyond the limited horizon which confines his every day vision. Those watch-towers of the earth, from whose battlements the handiwork of man shrinks into insignificance, as one range after another swells upward to the enlarged prospect, may well teach us our frailty and weakness; but they suggest to the thoughtful spirit a lesson, as well, of triumph and joy. For

" — what are mountains? specks upon the earth,
Like drops upon the wave with foam imperled.
What is this globe? a ball of puny girth
To sister planets in the system whirled.
What is this system circling round its sun?
An atom in the heaven by which 'tis spanned!
And what are all to that Eternal ONE
Who holds them in the hollow of his hand?"

Allied by our immortality "to that Eternal ONE," we look on the everlasting hills so robbed of their *perpetual* strength, destined to crumble into nothingness at the bidding of HIM, who created man indeed of the dust of the earth, but "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a LIVING SOUL. In the language of Scripture as paraphrased by COLERIDGE, "God created man in His own image—to be the image of His own eternity created He him."

But what was intended as a brief notice of an accustomed holiday, has insensibly glided into a *discourse*. Our remarks, as was most natural, have taken the prevailing hue of our meditations as excited by the time. Such as they are, receive them, reader, and with them our wishes that so long as *mountain-day* is known—and may that be until the perpetual hills shall bow!—our Alma Mater may enjoy many happy returns of the same.

Friend "Meteor," you are somewhat of the latest with your communication, but perhaps an extract therefrom will satisfy the reader as well as any thing we can offer.

"O, I have passed a miserable night!"

"Indeed I have, and for the matter of that, a miserable day, too. My dear Editor, do you know what it is to feel your body swelling like a rising loaf, your clothes to grow tight, your shirt cohesive, your face red, and your frame suffused with fat? If so, have you in your 'day and generation,' any such conception or remembrance of the above anti-agreeables, varied by dry winds and flying dust, as during this term? The king of day seems to grow despotic. He rules with a rod of iron, and that red hot. He has no bowels for men or thermometers; both rise at a terrible rate and are ready to boil over. His stern, inflexible gaze puts modest men out of countenance, and raises blushes on cheeks all steeled to shame. Talk to marines or poets about the summer beauty, but give me the homely kindness of old Winter, the rollicking, racketting good humor of Boreas and his free and easy companions. Then a summer evening! You have lighted your lamp and opened your window to enjoy 'light, air, and other easements,' at the same time perpending a wholesome portion of the last Knickerbocker, or some weightier tome, when you are saluted by a serenade from a whole army of insect minstrels. There is a desperate humming outside, accompanied by a reveille from a most indefatigable 'artist' inside the curtain. The vocal tribes hear the signal and rush to the spot. Mosquitoes sing in your ears and take their 'compensation' between the pauses of their melody. Two full-grown beetles burst in with a noise like distant thunder and strike plump against the opposite sides of your face. Nameless bugs in masquerade dresses, hop, skip and jump on the book you strive to profit by. The mob increases, till your lamp is fringed with the carcasses of those 'seekers after light' who have been to the school of experience and paid the customary fees, and you begin to think yourself an Egyptian in the midst of the ten plagues. So shut your window and 'make a choice of evils,' by roasting. On the whole I am so prosaic as to wish summer a trip to Greenland, and so little enamored with Persian philosophy that, were I to turn Pagan, it would be to worship anything but the sun."

APHROS of idolatry, mark the force of the following extract from "Eothen," and then, if you have not the book, buy and read by all means. "And near the Pyramids, more wondrous, and more awful than all else in the land of Egypt, there sits the lonely Sphinx. Comely the creature is, but the comeliness is not of this world; the once worshipped beast is a deformity and a monster to this generation, and yet you can see that those lips, so thick and heavy, were fashioned according to some ancient mould of beauty—some mould of beauty now forgotten—forgotten because that Greece drew forth Cytherea from the flashing foam of the Ægean, and in her image created new forms of beauty, and made it a law among men that the short and proudly wreathed-up lip should stand for the sign and main con-

dition of loveliness, through all generations to come. Yet still there lives on the race of those who were beautiful in the fashion of the elder world, and Christian girls of Coptic blood, will look on you with the sad, serious gaze, and kiss you your charitable hand with the big, pouting lips of the very Sphinx. Laugh and mock if you will at the worship of stone idols, but mark ye this, ye breakers of images, that in one regard, the stone idol bears awful resemblance of Deity—unchangefulness in the midst of change—the same seeming will and intent forever and ever inexorable! Upon ancient dynasties of Ethiopian and Egyptian kings, upon Greek and Roman, upon Arab and Ottoman conquerors—upon Napoleon dreaming of an eastern empire—upon battle and pestilence—upon the ceaseless misery of the Egyptian race—upon keen-eyed travellers—Herodotus yesterday and Warburton to-day—upon all and more, this unworldly Sphinx has watched, and watched like a Providence, with the same earnest eyes, and the same sad, tranquil mien. And we, we shall die, and Islam will wither away, and the Englishman, leaning far over to hold his loved India, will plant a firm foot on the banks of the Nile, and sit in the seats of the Faithful, and still that sleepless rock will lie watching and watching the works of the new, busy race, with those same sad, earnest eyes, and that same tranquil mien everlasting. You dare not mock at the Sphinx."

WE have received the *NASSAU MONTHLY*, and have only to regret that it has not been a more constant visitor. Its contents are various and readable.

LAST WORDS. And now, kind readers, the present Editors take leave of their charge, and resign it to their constituency. "Our words be few." We have taken an humble plant from the mountains, tended and nursed it carefully, till, as compared with its first shootings, it is of goodly size and comely. Whatever there is that is lacking in its fair aspect may have arisen from the native barrenness of the soil, or from the sickly condition in which it first lingered.

In discharging our responsible duties, we have earnestly endeavored, according to our best skill, to please and satisfy our readers, and if we have met with any success in this undertaking, it is of itself a great reward. Whatever may have been their judgment of our poor performances, we ask of them, at least, the credit of faithful endeavors, sincere longings to do them good service. For the many tokens of kindness we have received from time to time, for the steady co-operation of our friends, for the indulgence that has hitherto been patiently and untiringly bestowed on our short-comings, for whatever of pleasantness has marked the days of our editorial life, our thanks are due to the students of this college, whose servants we have been. To those of our cotemporaries who have done us the favor to exchange, we tender our grateful acknowledgments, and our best wishes for their abundant success. Though the year has alternated with clouds and sunshine, the former have made the latter the more grateful, and those transient gleams will ever illuminate the chambers of memory.

Date	Description	Amount
1890	Jan 1	
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1892	Jan 1	
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1893	Jan 1	
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1895	Jan 1	
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1896	Jan 1	
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1899	Jan 1	
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	Dec 1	

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OF THE
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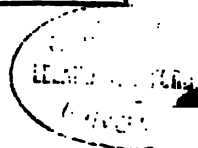
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WITH THE

*RULES, REGULATIONS AND STUDIES OF THE SEVERAL
GRADES; A LIST OF DIRECTORS, TEACHERS AND
GRADUATES, FROM THEIR ORGANIZATION,
AND THE SPECIAL ACTS OF ASSEMBLY FOR
THE CARLISLE SCHOOL DISTRICT.*

CARLISLE, PA.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.
1878.





HISTORY AND PLAN
OF THE
COMMON SCHOOLS
OF
CARLISLE, PENN'A.

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HISTORY OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF CARLISLE, PENN'A.*

It is a remarkable fact that when the time comes for any great discovery, or the establishment of any institution for the welfare of society, there is a simultaneous movement of different minds in different places, directed to the same object and the same end. This was the case about the year 1830, when the attention of distinguished gentlemen in the Legislature, in Philadelphia, and of others in the interior of the State, was turned and directed to the subject of Common School Education.

The first movement in Carlisle was a small pamphlet written by James Hamilton, Esq., of Carlisle, containing a letter addressed to the Hon. Mr. Hemphill, Chairman of the Committee on Education in the House of Representatives of the United States, in which Common School education in the States, and Railroads, were advocated as the great and important measures to advance the interests of the country, and urging an appropriation by Congress for them to the several States. A copy of the pamphlet was given to Mr. Burroughs, but the date cannot at present be ascertained. The first Act of the Legislature was passed on the 3d of April, 1831, appropriating money due by holders of unpatented lands, or by mortgages for the purchase of the same, as a fund for Common School Education, and followed by an Act of 1st of April, 1834, establishing a system of Common Schools.

On the 12th of March, 1836, a meeting of a number of Teachers and other gentlemen friendly to education, met in the County Building, when it was resolved to form an association to be called "The Friends of Common Schools," and Mr. Gad Day being called to the chair, the following queries were proposed as subjects of consideration and for the future action of the Society.

* This sketch was prepared by James Hamilton, Esq., at the request of the Board, and was found in an unfinished condition at his death.

They are published that the public may understand the objects the friends of Common Schools had in view in forming this association; the importance of the objects to be accomplished, and the necessity of the friendly co-operation of every one engaged in the instruction of youth, as well as of parents and guardians.

What is there, if we except religion, which has so intimate a connection with the welfare of the rising generation as a complete and cheap system of primary instruction?

The questions submitted to the meeting were the following:

I. In what way can a suitable interest to the importance of Common School instruction be excited in the community?

II. By what means can Teachers of Common Schools be induced to qualify themselves better for the discharge of their duties, and what facilities can be afforded them for that purpose?

III. Can the Common Schools of Cumberland County be so arranged that a committee may recommend to the different grades of instruction the following:

1. Such school books as experience in the schools of the East has established as best adapted for instruction.

2. Such a system of government and discipline as experience may have shown to be best calculated to preserve order and induce study.

3. Such methods of imparting instruction as have been proved, on trial, to be most likely to accomplish the end in view.

4. Is it desirable that collections in natural history, and small libraries, should be established in each township for the use of Teachers and scholars?

The above queries having been read, and the first being under consideration, it was on motion of Professor Emory,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, who shall take such measures as they may judge best to ascertain minutely the state of Common School Education in the county, and after obtaining all the facts in the case to embody the same in a report to be submitted to this meeting, and which, if approved, shall be published.

Resolved, That the Rev. Goodman and Messrs. Hamilton and Day constitute that committee.

Resolved, That the editors of papers in this county friendly to

the cause of Common Schools, be requested to publish these proceedings.

The meeting then adjourned to meet on Saturday the 9th day of April next, to receive the report; and the Teachers of Cumberland county and gentlemen friendly to the cause of Common Schools are then invited to attend.

The report of the committee appointed was made in April, 1836. The report was very full and lengthy, from which we make the following extracts:

"Immediately subsequent to their appointment intimation was received of the probability, that on application being made to the young gentlemen connected with Dickinson College, a sufficient number might be induced to explore the county with reference to the object in view. With not only the unqualified sanction of the faculty, but generously encouraged by their influence, eight of the students cheerfully responded to the wishes of the committee, and engaged during an existing vacation to visit the several districts and by personal inquiry and observation to procure the information desired. Of their prompt and efficient co-operation in the work—of their close adherence to the respective instructions given for their guidance, and of the completeness of their reports, your committee are most happy in being enabled to bear a merited testimony.

"Much of the information now presented has been derived from the facts supplied through their faithful and well directed labors; and for the gratuitous bestowal of their important and valuable services, the sincere expression of grateful acknowledgments is cordially tendered.

"It may therefore be held that Cumberland in respect to her primary schools presents a fair criterion by which to judge of other sections of the State in regard to education within her borders. Almost wholly an agricultural district, the feelings of the people of the county are of that kind which is invariably found to exist where the want of mental improvement is unfelt from the nature of their pursuits not requiring much commerce with the world, as well as not allowing the withdrawal of their families from their farms. Accordingly, a reason is supplied by this fact for the temporary support of schools for a part of the year only, and which is chiefly in the winter season.

"1. *Number of schools visited?* *Ans.*—One hundred and nine schools, including those in the Borough and several villages two and one-half miles distant between each.

"2. *Number of teachers and scholars.* *Ans.*—About the same as the number of schools. Only two school-houses closed from want of teachers. Ten female teachers. Number of scholars in the county and villages, 3,327, and in the Borough of Carlisle, 433. Proportion of sexes, five males to three females. The schools in the rural districts average a fraction over thirty in each.

"3. *What portion of the year the schools are in session.* *Ans.*—Of the schools, out of Carlisle, eighteen are continued the whole year, thirty-three nine months, and forty-two during the winter only. School hours from 8 A. M. to 5 P. M. in the summer, and from 9 A. M. to 4 P. M. in the winter.

"4. *How many children do not attend school?* *Ans.*—In some sections of the county the ratio of scholars was as two to one, in others as five to three; but in most cases the number was equal—in a few instances, indeed, those who were receiving no instruction exceeded the children attached to the school of the neighborhood."

In the remarks made by the committee, they estimate the number of children in the county between the ages of six and fifteen at 6,000, and that probably 1,238 children in the county are growing up without the blessings of education. They further say: "Let the cause be referred to whatever source it may; let it be said that sufficient provision has been made for the education of the poor, and if not enjoyed that the fault lies with them, and cannot perhaps be removed by any measure which may be prosecuted. But is it proved that these neglected children are the offspring of those unable to educate them?"

"Your committee have before them a statement from the County Commissioners, and they find that 1,087 in Cumberland and 254 poor children in the borough, are at present receiving from the County Treasury the means of their education.

"In view of this distressing fact, your committee would remark that they see no mode for removing the evil of the culpable neglect, other than in the institution of schools, upon the system which prevails in Prussia, Switzerland, Germany, Scotland, and

in some sections of this Union — a system established by legislative authority. They believe that were such a system adopted, one which would be supported by a small tax upon the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, and liberal appropriations from its resources, that the aspect of primary education would be most favorably changed in a short time."

"5. *The branches taught and the text-books used.* In the country schools, with few exceptions, the only branches taught are Spelling, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. In certain districts, English Grammar, Geography and History are added, but generally, those first named are all which are enjoyed. Of text-books, every variety was found by the sub-committee. They believe that there is hardly any work intended for primary education that has not been seen in the hands of the scholars; almost every one of whom, had a book different from his fellow learner. Among these heterogeneous collections but few good elementary works were found, and many were entirely worthless.

"6. *The state of discipline.* This varies in its character according to the capability of the teachers. In some instances the reports are very favorable and commendatory, whilst in others, unqualified censure has been expressed.

"7. *The prices of tuition.* In the country schools the two prices generally paid are \$2.00 and \$1.50 per quarter, making the medium cost \$1.75 for each scholar. In the borough and villages the prices are from \$2.00 to \$6.00, and in a few instances the charge is as high as \$10.00 per quarter. In the country fuel and stationery are provided by the parents, and the school-houses are, generally, the property of the townships or districts.

"8. *Disposition of the people towards education.* Although there is a lamentable indifference to the subject in some districts, yet an interest is awakening in others. In a few neighborhoods where formerly a violent and active opposition to the present school law (1834) was known to exist, a decided approval of it is now expressed.

"9. *How the teachers are paid.* In a few instances teachers are employed by the neighborhood at the medium price of \$15 per month, exclusive of boarding, which can be had almost everywhere in the country at \$1.00 per week, and in some places at 75 cents. But the generality of teachers are paid by the parents at

the rate of \$1.50 or \$2.00 per quarter for each scholar. The children of the poor are entered at the established rates of the teachers, which are paid by the Commissioners. In two or three cases a commutation has been agreed upon and all the poor children, whatever their number, received at so much per month.

"10. *What is the salary or income of the respective teachers?* At \$15 per month his salary would be \$180 per year, but this depends on the encouragement given him. His yearly income may be said to be about \$200.

"Your committee in making this statement ask the melancholy privilege of soliciting a special attention to the unmeasurable and inadequate support rendered to the teachers employed in the county. The instructors in our common schools are in truth worse paid than the day laborer on our public works."

The report is very voluminous, and was drawn by Rev. J. R. Goodman and signed by him, and also by Rev. Jno. P. Durbin, Jas. Hamilton, M. Caldwell, Gad Day, and R. Emory; dated April, 1836.

What was done under the Act of April 1st, 1834, which provided that a joint meeting be held on the first Monday of May, 1835, of the County Commissioners, and one delegate from each Board of School Directors within said county or school division, in which it shall be decided whether or not a tax for the expenditure of each district be levied, &c., cannot now be ascertained, for the records of the county were, of that date, destroyed by the burning of the Court House, but on the first Monday of May, 1836, under the revised school law of that year, at a similar joint meeting held on that day at which time Carlisle was represented by James Hamilton, a member of the Board of School Directors, which had organized on the 26th of March of the same year, ten thousand dollars were voted for school purposes for the county, to which, at a meeting of the citizens of Carlisle, two thousand dollars were added to the portion awarded to the Borough of Carlisle, and the Board of Directors of Carlisle, on the 4th of July, 1836, resolved to put the schools in said town in operation by the 15th of August, 1836. Books were opened for the names of scholars, teachers were appointed, different grades of schools established, the children assigned to such

as they were prepared for, a system adopted, and the schools put into operation in August, 1836.

The Board of Directors when the schools thus went into operation, consisted of Messrs. Andrew Blair, President, Peter B. Smith, Reinick Angney, Lewis Harlan, Thomas B. Jacobs, and James Hamilton, Secretary. The number of scholars, 928, at an expense of \$4,200 for sixteen schools. On January 16th, 1837, it was

Resolved, That Messrs. Smith and Hamilton be a committee to prepare a memorial to the Legislature, praying for the funding of three millions of the surplus revenue as a school fund, the interest of which to be applied to the support of the Common Schools of the State, and that one hundred thousand dollars of the balance be applied in addition to the present appropriation to the same object for the present year.

On the 23d of January, 1837, the committee reported the following memorial, which was signed by the Board of Directors and many citizens of Cumberland county and elsewhere, and presented to both houses of the Legislature at the session of 1837:

"To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania.

"The memorial of the undersigned citizens of the county of Cumberland respectfully sheweth,

"That your memorialists are very desirous to see the common schools of the State placed on such a basis as will insure the permanency of a good system of education for all classes in the community.

"The constitution of this State enjoin- 'the establishment of schools throughout the State in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis.

"This the Legislature have attempted to accomplish in the school law recently enacted and put into operation in different parts of the State; and the perfecting of the system is well deserving the attention of our best men, and ablest legislators.

"It is not through the higher seminaries of learning but through the Common Schools, the people of Pennsylvania are to have the door of education opened to the mass of her population, so as to afford like opportunities to all for the acquisition of property, honors and public stations; and history establishes the fact that

free institutions can only be maintained where the citizens are enlightened, where morality, virtue and patriotism are engrafted on the youthful mind, and where it is early trained to appreciate these traits of character.

“The facilitating of intercourse between different portions of the State and the opening of channels for trade and commerce are important and desirable objects, and much has been expended to accomplish these ends, but if the greater portion of the children of Pennsylvania who are to wield the future destinies of this great State, are permitted to grow up in ignorance, destitute of even an elementary education, the legacy of the public improvements will be a poor inheritance compared with a system of instruction which would qualify each to act his part intelligently and afford the enjoyments attendant upon a cultivated mind.

“The distribution of the surplus revenue now offers to your honorable bodies, without taxation or embarrassing the other great interests of the commonwealth, the long desired opportunity of laying a foundation for a school fund on a broad and liberal basis. Other States are adopting this course; will Pennsylvania pursue a different one?

“Your memorialists are satisfied, from experience, that the Common Schools cannot be maintained by direct taxation without a liberal appropriation to the same object from the State. Some individuals object to the tax as unequal, others complain of the amount, and it is evident strong inducements must be held out to encourage individuals to tax themselves for educating the children of the commonwealth, where the benefits are general and the weight of the tax unequal. These inducements are to be found in a *fund* proportioned to the greatness of the objects, whose fertilizing streams are to reach every corner of the State.

“Your memorialists, therefore, pray your honorable bodies to fund *three millions* of the surplus revenue as a school fund, the interest of which to be applied annually, with the sums already voted to school purposes, and that at least one hundred thousand dollars of the balance be distributed during the present year for school furniture or the erection of school houses, as the different Boards of Directors may determine.

“And your memorialists will pray &c.”

For the year 1837, at a meeting of the citizens of Carlisle,

there were 146 votes for an additional tax of \$1500, and 26 votes against it.

SELECT SCHOOL.—On the 16th April, 1838, the Select School for Carlisle was established, and has been maintained ever since. On the first Wednesday afternoon of each school month, all the public schools of the district are suspended, and the Directors, Teachers, with three representative scholars from each of the schools, in one of the three departments, alternately, are to meet for illustrations in the mode of instruction. It is called the Select School from the scholars returned being selected by their respective teachers, as the three best during the preceding three months; and they are rewarded either by certificate of merit or their names being published in the Carlisle papers. This meeting also affords facilities for communication between the Directors and Teachers, and the payment of salaries.

At a meeting of the Board, on the 22d of April, 1850, Mr. Hamilton read part of the proceedings of the County Convention, of the 18th of April, 1850, relative to the establishment of a Normal School in the County of Cumberland; also so much of the late Act of Assembly as had relation thereto, and a plan of a Normal School submitted by him to said convention.

The Act of Assembly referred to was "An Act relative to the Common Schools in the Borough of Carlisle," approved April 15th, 1850. The section referred to was section 8, of said Act, as follows:

"Section 8. The Board of Directors shall have power, whenever a school is not full, and will not operate to the disadvantage of any of the citizens of said Borough, to receive a scholar or scholars, from other districts or places, at such a rateable sum per quarter as said Board shall think just for the school in which such scholar is admitted, and said Board also have power to establish a Normal School, of a superior grade, in said District, provided no additional expense is thereby incurred over and above sustaining the necessary schools for said Borough, and to admit scholars into said Normal School from any part of the County or elsewhere, on such terms and on such plan as said Board may direct; and the Board of Directors of any other school district in said County, may, if they think proper, make an agreement with the Directors in Carlisle to contribute to the

support of the same, according to the number of scholars they may send to said Normal School."

At this time, there was no Normal School in Pennsylvania. Mr. Burroughs' Act was passed 20th of May, 1857, and teachers had to be obtained for the higher schools of Carlisle from Massachusetts and Connecticut.

At the meeting of Directors, held at the time aforesaid, viz: the 22d April, 1850, it was, after discussion,

"*Resolved*, That the Rev. J. A. Devinney and Mr. Wm. H. Batt be appointed professors, for the present year, of the contemplated Normal School for Cumberland County, to receive all the tuition they may be paid during the session, as a compensation for the duties thereof, and be requested to prepare a plan and system of instruction, to be submitted to the convention of Delegates, on the 7th of May next, and, also, to this Board for their approval."

Resolutions were also passed, furnishing accommodations for the school, and suspending the Boys' High School on Wednesday afternoon; also

"*Resolved*, That a circular be addressed to the different Boards of the County, inviting a delegate meeting of one Director, from each Board, to assemble in Education Hall, at 10 o'clock, on the 7th of May next, to mature and decide on the plan of a Normal School, as recommended by the County Convention on the 18th inst."

James Hamilton was appointed the delegate, and the Board adjourned until 7th May, to receive the report.

Extract from the circular issued April 25th, 1850, to each of the Boards of Directors of Cumberland County, respecting a Normal School:

"We do not desire any contribution from your school fund. The Normal School is to be sustained on the tuition alone. We wish your active aid in the following four things:

"1. To take round your township the annexed subscription paper and obtain as many subscribers, of teachers and others, as you can from those willing to become pupils in the Normal School, at Carlisle, which is to continue a session of three months, from the 15th day of May next, at a tuition of eight dollars from each pupil.

SECTION 2. At the same time and place, annually, that elections are held for borough officers in each ward, one citizen of said school district shall be elected school director, to serve three years; and the directors elected in said borough, under the provisions of former enactments, whose terms of office have not expired, shall continue to serve as school directors until their respective terms have expired for which they were elected; and duplicate returns of all elections for directors shall be made out, signed and sealed by the judges, and delivered by the constable, or proper officer of said election, one to the board of directors, and the other to the court of quarter sessions, within ten days thereafter; and each person elected a director shall be notified, in writing, by the constable or other officers who held the election; and if the election for directors is contested by ten qualified citizens, the court of quarter sessions, on a hearing, shall confirm, set aside, or order a new election, as to said court may seem just; and if a new election, it shall be held in the usual place, on two weeks' notice.

SECTION 3. The directors elected under the provisions of this act shall, together with those already in office, organize by electing officers within twenty days after the election; and if any one duly elected a school director shall refuse to serve, or to attend a regular meeting of the board, to assume his duties, on notice in writing by the secretary, or after entering upon his duties, shall neglect to attend two or more regular stated meetings, without any satisfactory excuse to the board, the directors present may declare his seat vacant, and appoint another in his stead; and the same in all other cases of vacancy, until the next regular election; and all directors of said borough, while in office, shall be exempted from serving in any township or borough office.

SECTION 4. The board of directors, when organized, shall define and prescribe, more particularly, the duties of the board, and the regulations for the government of the teachers, as well as for the schools; the president and secretary shall be members of the board; and the treasurer may or may not be a member of the board, at the discretion of the directors.

SECTION 5. The president shall sign the certificate of assessment of the district tax, and all orders issued to the district

NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND CLASSIFICATION.—The system is graded into three classes of schools, viz: Primary, Secondary, and High Schools, the two first into first and second grade. This was the plan originally adopted in 1836, and experience has shown that no better could have been devised. The number of schools in Carlisle are, at present, five primary schools of the first grade, located in different parts of the town, to accommodate parents, four primary schools of the second grade, four schools of the secondary department, first grade, four schools of the secondary department, second grade, a Boys' and a Girls' High School, and two colored schools, one of the primary, and the other of the secondary department, making twenty-one schools in all.

When the scholars are advanced from the first to the second grade of schools, the girls are separated from the boys, and distinct schools for females and for males are maintained throughout the remaining series.

The Board have purchased and erected eight buildings, of brick, for the accommodations of the schools, three in Pomfret street, one in Pitt street, one in Louthier street, one in Liberty alley, one in Church alley, and one in Mulberry alley.

Applicants for the positions of teachers of schools have so far been examined by the Board of Directors, being elected on general recommendations, on condition of passing a satisfactory examination.

The importance of a local superintendent to visit the schools, point out defects in the mode of instruction, and the best methods experience has devised for imparting information, and suggesting whatever would conduce to the success and welfare of the schools, has been under consideration at different times, and duly appreciated by the Board, but one well suited to the situation could not be found at the salary we could give, with the resources at our command.

The examinations of the schools are held at the close of the summer term, in the month of June in each year, and a private examination by a competent gentleman of all who claim the graduating honors of the schools.

At the suggestion and on invitation of the Board of Directors, a large number of the graduates of the High Schools met on the

28th June, 1871, and organized an "Alumni Association of the High Schools, of Carlisle." This association meets annually, and is largely attended by the members; and the anniversary exercises, consisting of orations, poems, essays, and class histories, are highly appreciated by crowded houses.

The importance of laying a good foundation, and the acquisition of the rudiments of the English language, before the child is transferred to a higher grade, cannot be too highly estimated.

Spelling, reading, writing, mental and written arithmetic, grammar, and geography ought to be thoroughly taught, and in some measure mastered, before the scholar is transferred to the High School, and his attention given to more advanced studies.

We extract, for the benefit of our teachers, and more especially for those in our primary schools, some observations of gentlemen whose experience and ability gives weight to their remarks on each of these branches.

Mr. Town says, that spelling and reading monosyllables, constitute, in the English language, in composition, nearly two-thirds of the whole number of words used; and, as no rules can be given for spelling words of one syllable, or simple radical words, they must be committed to memory.

The young scholar must begin with the combination of two letters into words or syllables, then words of three letters, followed by dissyllables of four letters. And Mr. Town remarks that the teacher ought to point out the different senses in which the same word is used, as for example: "My axe is too *dull* to cut well, and the roan mare is too *dull* to ride." Although the memory is chiefly relied on in the early education of children, yet he thinks discrimination ought to be cultivated from the first. He thinks "years are consumed in little else than repeating sounds without any regard to their distinctive import." How far this can be attained with very young children, must be the result of experience. The children ought, however, to be drilled often in the consonant and vowel sounds of the English language, and words which contain different letters or combinations of letters pronounced alike. Mr. Worcester lays stress on this instruction in the introduction of his excellent spelling book.

In many elementary schools much importance is attached to object teaching, and oral teaching, but where such is the exclu-

sive mode, experience has shown that they do not succeed. An able teacher of a primary school will try every method, and teach much of what is not contained in the books. He should illustrate to the eye various objects to impress with more effect what they learn from day to day in their lessons. In the more advanced schools spelling must be taught by writing, as well as orally; practically, spelling is by writing, and, therefore, the importance of teaching by writing on slate, paper, or the black-board.

Worcester remarks that much of the difficulty of spelling, in the English language, arises from the varying elementary sounds of different letters of the alphabet, from silent letters in many words, and the obscure sounds which vowels often have when not accented. In the more advanced schools, words should be traced to their roots, and the prefixes and suffixes made a study to show how the roots are changed and modified by their addition or subtraction.

In reading, sufficient attention is not given by the teacher to a distinct enunciation. The teacher ought to accomplish this by exercising the pupils in the elementary sounds of the different letters, until distinctness, clearness, and proper utterance is attained in the combination of the elementary sounds, and the organs of speech are properly exercised.

ACTS OF ASSEMBLY RELATIVE TO THE COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE BOROUGH OF CARLISLE.

ACT RELATIVE TO THE ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS OF CARLISLE.

Approved April 15, 1850.

SECTION 1. That the borough of Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, shall continue to form one common school district for all purposes of education, according to the existing common school laws of this commonwealth, except so much thereof as is altered, supplied or repealed by the provisions of this act.

after, and it shall be his duty to do so, before the expiration of three months from the termination of the sixty days aforesaid, issue his warrant with a schedule of all such unpaid school tax, and the names of the persons respectively to whom the same is charged in the proper duplicate, directed to the constable of the said borough of Carlisle, or to such other suitable person as the treasurer and board may appoint, who, on receiving the same, is hereby authorized and required to demand and receive from the persons named in the said schedule, the said tax with which they are respectively charged; and the said constable or collector shall have like power to enforce the payment of the school tax aforesaid, as collectors of county rates and levies have to enforce the payment of county and state taxes, and in case of a levy by distress and sale of the goods and chattels of any delinquent, the said constable or collector shall, in addition, be allowed such fees as are now allowed by law to constables, in cases of levy and sale on writs of execution, and to be collected with the tax: *Provided nevertheless*, If any taxpayer shall, before the warrant and schedule aforesaid is actually delivered to said constable or collector, tender the amount of his or her tax to said treasurer, he shall receive the same, and credit the same in said schedule; and that said directors shall be authorized to make such allowance for collection of said tax or abatement in those promptly paying, as shall not exceed five per cent. on the amount so paid; the said constable or collector shall from time to time, as the said tax is collected, pay over the amount to the district treasurer; and shall settle up his duplicate, and pay over the amount due thereon (except such sums as he shall be exonerated from) to the said treasurer, on or before the day fixed upon in the warrant of the treasurer.

SECTION 15. Before the delivery to the constable or collector so appointed, of the warrant and schedule as aforesaid, the district treasurer and board of directors shall require of him sufficient bond and security for the payment of the amount of school tax contained in said schedule; and if said constable or collector shall fail to give the security required within ten days, the district treasurer and board may appoint another person to collect the said unpaid school tax, who shall have the same power and receive the same compensation as herein before provided for.

treasurer, and the secretary and treasurer shall do and perform all the duties and acts which the regulations to be adopted by the board shall direct and require; the treasurer shall, if required, give bond, with such sureties as shall be approved by the board, for the faithful performance of his duties, and shall settle his accounts annually with a committee of the board, and pay over without delay the balance to his successor in office.

SECTION 6. The board of directors shall establish a sufficient number of schools for the education of every individual of the age of six years, and under twenty-one, in said borough, and may purchase or rent lots of ground or buildings for school houses, or for the building and erection of school houses, and the same to sell, alien and dispose of, when it shall no longer be necessary for the purposes aforesaid, and shall have power to borrow for the purchase of ground or buildings, and the erection of school houses necessary for the schools of said borough, any sum or sums of money not exceeding at any one time three thousand dollars, and to pledge by mortgage or judgment, any part or all of their real estate for the security and re-payment thereof, such being first duly authorized by a resolution of the board, signed by the president and attested by the secretary, which shall thereupon become valid and binding to all intents and purposes.

SECTION 7. The board of directors shall exercise a general supervision over the schools of said borough, and shall by one or more of their number visit the same at least once in each month, appoint the teachers, fix the salaries, designate for what causes a teacher shall be dismissed in their general regulations of the schools, to what school a pupil shall be admitted, determine and direct what branches of learning shall be taught, and what books shall be used, and specify also for what cause pupils shall be suspended or expelled, and shall, on or before the first Monday in June, in each year, make a report to the superintendent of common schools in such manner as he shall require. In cases of any difficulty or difference, an appeal shall be made to the state superintendent, who shall take order in the premises as to him shall seem just and right; but no county superintendent shall interfere or have jurisdiction in the schools of said borough.

SECTION 8. The board of directors shall have power whenever

objects so returned, shall be taxed for school purposes the same as if it had been assessed and returned by said commissioners pursuant to the twelfth section of this act.

SECTION 20. The said board of directors may, on petition of fifty citizens of said borough, keep open for not more than four months in each school year, not exceeding two night schools for instruction in the useful branches of an English education of persons over the age of fourteen years, who may apply to said board to attend the same, and whose avocations are such as necessarily to prevent them from attending the day schools; and in such case to add the expense of the same to the general expenses of the common schools of Carlisle, to be included in the next assessment and taxation for same.

SECTION 21. This act shall continue to be the common school law of the borough of Carlisle, until otherwise altered or repealed; nor shall the same be altered or repealed, or altered, or modified by implication or general words in any general common school law that may at any time be enacted, without being so expressly stated; and any former laws, resolutions, or parts of laws supplied by or inconsistent with the provisions of this act, so far as relates to said borough, are hereby repealed.

AN ACT RELATING TO THE SCHOOL TAXES OF THE BOROUGH
OF CARLISLE.

Approved December 1, 1868.

Whereas, By the common school laws of the borough of Carlisle, approved the 15th day of April, A. D. 1850, there is no adequate provisions to secure the payment of the school tax levied as assessed and apportioned on real estate:

And whereas, It frequently occurs that owners of real estate sell their property and remove from said borough, leaving their school tax unpaid; therefore,

SECTION 1. Be it enacted, &c., that all taxes that are, or hereafter may be legally assessed, by the board of school directors, of the borough of Carlisle, shall remain a lien upon any real estate so taxed, for the period of one year from the date of the levy and apportionment of the said tax.

and apportion the said school tax as follows: First, upon all offices and posts of profit, professions, trades and occupations, and upon all single freemen above the age of twenty-one years, any such sum as they in their discretion may deem just and proper, not exceeding five mills in the dollar of the adjusted valuation thereof: *And provided also*, that the tax assessed on each shall in no case be less than fifty cents; and secondly, the directors having ascertained the amount thus assessed, shall assess and levy the balance necessary to make up the whole amount of school tax required to be raised upon all the other property, subjects and things of the district, made or to be made taxable for state or county purposes, as aforesaid.

SECTION 12. When the school tax is thus levied and apportioned, the secretary of the board of directors shall make, or cause to be made out a correct duplicate of the same, and the president shall issue his warrant to the district treasurer to collect the said school tax, and the board shall have the right at all times to make such abatements or exoneration for mistakes, indigent persons, or unseated lands as to them shall appear just and reasonable; and the secretary shall enter on the minutes all such exonerations and abatements or otherwise keep an account thereof, excepting that all corrections and abatements shall be made only as of the time when the regular appeals for county and state purposes were held, and no reduction of valuation of property where the commissioners have so decided.

SECTION 13. On the receipt of said warrant and duplicate, the district treasurer shall give at least thirty days' notice by not less than ten written or printed advertisements, to be put up in the most public places in the district, and such additional notice as the board may direct, that he will attend at the court house in the said borough, on a day or days named in said advertisements, for the purpose of collecting and receiving the school tax for said district, and shall collect and receive the same, and as compensation therefor, the said treasurer shall receive two per cent. for all moneys so collected.

SECTION 14. In case any school tax shall remain unpaid for a period of sixty days from and after the day on which the district treasurer shall have attended for the purpose of receiving the same as aforesaid, the said treasurer may, at any time there-

GENERAL REGULATIONS
FOR THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

1. The regular meetings of the Board will be held on the first Monday of every month for the admission of scholars, payment of salaries, and other business.

2. It shall be the duty of the members of the Board to visit the schools at least once a month, and oftener, if convenient, commend good conduct and improvement, and discountenance negligence and vice. They shall give their friendly advice to the teachers in any emergency, take cognizance of difficulties that may have arisen, and report what they have done, that the same may be entered on the minutes.

3. There shall be a general examination of the schools preceding the July vacation, and such exercises by the pupils as the Board shall judge proper, and such transfers made to the higher schools as the progress of the scholars may warrant.

4. The Teachers in all the public schools shall be elected by a majority of the whole Board of Directors annually, at the close of the Summer session; and the preferment of the Teachers shall be based on their literary and moral merit and practical skill.

5. The Teachers derive their authority from the Board, and shall be alike responsible to it for the faithful discharge of their appropriate duties, and be equally under its patronage and obeyed by their pupils. The principal in each school shall hold priority, and his or her direction followed in cases not provided for by the general regulations of the Board, or the rules of the schools. In cases of unfaithfulness in office, representations in writing, signed by the complainant, shall be handed the President of the Board, to be laid before it at its next meeting.

6. All the Teachers shall punctually observe the hours of

SECTION 16. As soon as the said president of the board of directors shall have issued his warrant for the collection of the school tax in said borough of Carlisle, he shall certify the same, stating the amount of such tax, and also the name of the district treasurer to the superintendent of common schools, who shall thereupon draw his warrant on the state treasurer for the whole amount said district is entitled to receive from the annual State appropriation.

SECTION 17. Whenever the board of directors shall consider it expedient or necessary, they shall make out, under the hand and seal of the president thereof, and file in the office of the prothonotary of the court of common pleas of the county, a certificate of the amount contained in the duplicate delivered to the district treasurer; which certificate the prothonotary is required to record and file, for which he shall be allowed a fee of fifty cents; and when so filed of record, shall operate as a judgment against the district treasurer aforesaid, collector, constable, or other person appointed to collect the school tax aforesaid from the date of such entry; and it shall be lawful to proceed thereon by writs of scire facias, or fieri facias, as in cases of other judgments.

SECTION 18. All applicants for the station of teacher in any of the common schools of the borough of Carlisle, shall be examined by the board, or such committee as they may appoint, in the presence of the board; and a certificate, signed by the president, shall be given to such as are found qualified for such grade of schools as they are fitted for; without which no one shall be appointed a teacher in any of the schools of said borough.

SECTION 19. If any person or persons shall in any year remove to and locate himself or herself in said school district of the borough of Carlisle, after the last assessment or valuation for county rates and levies shall have been made and returned, or omitted in said assessment, and having a profession, calling, thing, or property, liable to taxation according to the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of the assessor of said borough to value and return said professions, callings, things, or property to said board of directors; and such person or persons shall be heard on an appeal by the board aforesaid, if required by them, at any regular meeting of said board, before the duplicate for collection thereof shall have been issued to the collector; which said

objects so returned, shall be taxed for school purposes the same as if it had been assessed and returned by said commissioners pursuant to the twelfth section of this act.

SECTION 20. The said board of directors may, on petition of fifty citizens of said borough, keep open for not more than four months in each school year, not exceeding two night schools for instruction in the useful branches of an English education of persons over the age of fourteen years, who may apply to said board to attend the same, and whose avocations are such as necessarily to prevent them from attending the day schools; and in such case to add the expense of the same to the general expenses of the common schools of Carlisle, to be included in the next assessment and taxation for same.

SECTION 21. This act shall continue to be the common school law of the borough of Carlisle, until otherwise altered or repealed; nor shall the same be altered or repealed, or altered, or modified by implication or general words in any general common school law that may at any time be enacted, without being so expressly stated; and any former laws, resolutions, or parts of laws supplied by or inconsistent with the provisions of this act, so far as relates to said borough, are hereby repealed.

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AN ACT TO EXEMPT ALL MONEYS BORROWED BY THE BOARD OF
SCHOOL DIRECTORS OF CARLISLE FOR BUILDING PURPOSES,
AND THE PURCHASE OF REAL ESTATE, FROM TAXATION.

Approved April 12, 1869.

SECTION 1. Be it enacted, &c., That all moneys borrowed by the board of school directors of the borough of Carlisle for building purposes, or the purchase of real estate, for school purposes, be and the same is hereby exempt from taxation, except for State purposes.

SECTION 2. That the board of directors of the common schools of Carlisle are authorized to contract debts to any amount not exceeding ten thousand dollars; and all contracts that have been made are hereby validated.

GENERAL REGULATIONS
FOR THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

1. The regular meetings of the Board will be held on the first Monday of every month for the admission of scholars, payment of salaries, and other business.

2. It shall be the duty of the members of the Board to visit the schools at least once a month, and oftener, if convenient, commend good conduct and improvement, and discountenance negligence and vice. They shall give their friendly advice to the teachers in any emergency, take cognizance of difficulties that may have arisen, and report what they have done, that the same may be entered on the minutes.

3. There shall be a general examination of the schools preceding the July vacation, and such exercises by the pupils as the Board shall judge proper, and such transfers made to the higher schools as the progress of the scholars may warrant.

4. The Teachers in all the public schools shall be elected by a majority of the whole Board of Directors annually, at the close of the Summer session; and the preferment of the Teachers shall be based on their literary and moral merit and practical skill.

5. The Teachers derive their authority from the Board, and shall be alike responsible to it for the faithful discharge of their appropriate duties, and be equally under its patronage and obeyed by their pupils. The principal in each school shall hold priority, and his or her direction followed in cases not provided for by the general regulations of the Board, or the rules of the schools. In cases of unfaithfulness in office, representations in writing, signed by the complainant, shall be handed the President of the Board, to be laid before it at its next meeting.

6. All the Teachers shall punctually observe the hours of

opening and closing the schools, and shall require like punctuality of the scholars. They are also required to be in their respective school-rooms at least *ten* minutes before the specified time for opening for the reception of pupils, who shall be subject to all the rules of order for school hours as soon as they enter.

7. No Teacher shall be allowed to keep a private school of any description whatever without the consent of the Board, and any Teacher violating this rule shall be considered as having vacated his or her office.

8. Teachers are required to keep a register, to be furnished by the Board, and remain the property of the school, in which they shall note the name, age, attendance, conduct, improvement, and general character of each scholar, and such other particulars as may enable the Directors at their visitations to form an adequate idea of the state of the schools. Teachers shall frequently remind their scholars of the important consequences which may result to them individually from these records.

9. It is enjoined on the Teachers to keep the children out of idleness, and to give them as full employment as possible; to exercise vigilant, prudent and firm discipline; to punish as sparingly as is consistent with effect; and to govern by persuasion and gentle measures, as far as is practicable. Standing in the place of parents for the time being, it shall be their duty to exercise severally over their pupils all that authority and that only, which must be exercised by a kind and judicious father of a family, to obtain and ensure the prompt obedience and good deportment of his children. They shall reward and honor industrious and good scholars, and endeavor by judicious and diversified modes to render the exercises of the school pleasant as well as profitable. In case the conduct of any child shall be such as to render it absolutely necessary that it should be separated from the school, the Teacher shall immediately give notice of the same in writing to the parent or guardian of the child, and to the President of the Board, and the child shall then be excluded from the school until the advice and direction of the Board is had.

10. It shall be the duty of the Teachers to exercise a suitable vigilance with regard to their school rooms and their appurtenances, that there may be no unnecessary injury sustained by

cutting, disfiguring, or other improper usage, and if such occurs, parents will be charged therewith.

11. The school hours shall be from nine until twelve in the forenoon throughout the year, and from two until half-past four in the afternoon from the vernal to the autumnal equinox; and for the residue of the year from two until four; and any of the Teachers may increase the time, if necessary, for instruction, not exceeding one hour, at their discretion.

12. There shall be a holiday and vacation from the 1st day of July until the 15th day of August, and from the 17th day of December until the 2d day of January, and upon all legal holidays.

13. If any Teacher by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause is obliged to suspend his or her school when it is impracticable from the circumstances to obtain the consent of the Board, it shall be his or her duty forthwith to communicate the fact in writing to the President of the Board, that it may be laid before the Board at their next meeting, and a deduction shall be made in all cases for lost time.

14. Whenever any Teacher shall suspend his or her school on any occasion other than those specified in these regulations, he or she shall be liable to be dismissed, and no order shall be drawn for his or her salary until the Board have taken definite action thereon.

15. If the Board of Directors have doubts of the competency of any Teacher, he or she shall forthwith be required to stand an examination on the branches such Teacher has undertaken to teach, or be deemed incompetent.

16. Each Teacher shall furnish the Board with the roll of the scholars in his or her school, at each regular meeting of the Board, and at such other times as the Board may require. They shall also report at each monthly meeting of the Board a list of the scholars stricken from the roll for absence or other cause during the previous month.

17. Non-resident scholars may be admitted to the schools with the consent of the Board, and upon the payment of the tuition fee in advance. Each Teacher shall keep an accurate list of the pay-scholars, and the time for which the tuition has been paid. At the expiration of the time for which tuition has been

paid the parents shall be promptly notified in writing by the Teacher, and upon failure of the parent to renew the tuition the scholar shall be stricken from the roll and the Treasurer notified. Any Teacher failing to comply with this regulation will be held responsible for the tuition fee. And in the event of the transfer of pay-scholars from one school to another, the Teacher from whose school such scholar has been transferred shall notify the Teacher to whom such transfer has been made.

18. One-half day in each week the Teachers in the girls' schools shall devote to instruction in plain and ornamental needle-work, or drawing, and in the boy's schools to drawing, composition and declamation.

19. All Teachers are required to take care that the school houses, the furniture and apparatus in the same, as well as the out-buildings, fences, or any other property belonging to the schools be not unnecessarily defaced or injured in any manner by the scholars.

20. Teachers are requested to exercise a general supervision over the conduct of the scholars, not only while in school, but also during recess, and while coming to and returning from school. They shall exercise their authority to prevent all quarreling and contention, all rude and noisy behavior on the streets, all vulgar and profane language, all improper games, and all disrespectful conduct towards citizens and strangers.

21. The Teachers are required to give vigilant attention to the *ventilation* and *temperature* of their respective school-rooms, taking pains to secure such continual changes of the air as to prevent it from becoming impure. They shall so regulate the temperature of their rooms (by a thermometer provided for that purpose) as to avoid injurious extremes of heat and cold. Seventy degrees *Fahrenheit* shall be regarded as the standard for temperature.

22. All Teachers shall devote themselves faithfully to the duties of their offices, and, during school hours, to the public service only. Attending to matters of private interest, such as sewing, knitting, letter-writing, reading novels or books of any kind, except those used in the schools as text-books, during the daily sessions, is strictly prohibited, and any violation of this section will be deemed sufficient cause for dismissal.

They shall daily examine the lessons taught, and make such special preparation as will enable them to instruct the pupils without being confined to the text-books, and instruct all their scholars without partiality. They are required carefully to maintain good order and discipline, and to follow the course of instruction prescribed by the Board, permitting no books to be used in the schools as text books, except such as the Board shall designate.

23. It shall be the duty of Teachers to read to their respective schools, at least once in each session, so much of the regulations of the Board as will give them a just understanding of the rules by which they are to be governed. And it shall also be their duty to keep in some conspicuous place in the school-room a card, showing the order of exercise for each day in the week, and the time for each exercise.

24. No Teacher shall use, or permit his scholars to use, tobacco in any shape during school hours, and for the first offence the offender shall be admonished, and for the second suspended and reported to the Board.

25. No check for salary shall be issued to any Teacher who has not made a return of the roll of his or her school to the Board on the first Monday of each month, together with a written notice of all suspensions of scholars, and of lost time, if any, of the Teacher.

26. Any Teacher desiring to be temporarily absent from school shall give due notice thereof to the President or some other member of the Board.

27. Teachers shall prohibit all persons from visiting the schools for the purpose of advertising any lecture, exhibition, or show, of any kind or character, or for business purposes, unless such person or persons shall present, in writing, the permission of the Board.

28. No Teacher will be promoted from a lower to a higher grade of schools without undergoing a satisfactory examination in the presence of the Board.

29. The Board will examine and admit scholars into all the schools at their regular monthly meetings.

30. Whenever any scholar shall be absent from any of the schools in the Primary Department without the permission of

the Board for two weeks out of four on an average of his or her absences, except in case of sickness — or in the Secondary Department and High Schools in like manner one week out of four on such average, and with like exception, it shall be the duty of the Teacher to strike the name of such scholar from the roll of the school, and application will have to be made anew, except in case of sickness.

31. No scholar shall be transferred from one school to another without the order of the Board; the regular transfers shall be made at the close of the schools, on examination preceding the Summer vacation, but they may be made at any other time when the Board shall be of opinion that it is expedient.

32. Pupils detained at home, must, on returning to school, bring a written excuse from their parents or guardians for such detention, and any pupil, wishing on any day to be dismissed before the close of the session, must bring from the parent or guardian a satisfactory written request therefor, and obtain the consent of the Teacher.

33. Absence from recitations shall be regarded as a failure to recite, and shall be so marked on the register; but the omitted lessons may be subsequently recited, out of the regular school hours, at such time as may be convenient to the Teacher; but the recitations shall not be marked as high as if made at regular times, except in case of sickness.

34. Any pupil who shall anywhere, on or around the school premises, use any profane language, or shall draw any obscene or indecent picture or representation, or cut, mark, or otherwise intentionally deface any school furniture, apparatus, or building inside or out, or any property whatsoever belonging to the schools, shall be punished in proportion to the nature and extent of the offense, and for a second offense suspended.

35. No scholar shall be placed on the roll of any school until a ticket of admission is delivered to the Teacher by order of the Board, except in the case of the first admission, which any Director is authorized to make. *Provided*, That a scholar who has been absent from school for three or more consecutive months shall be considered a new applicant.

36. The Teachers shall inculcate upon the children from time to time, the principles of kindness and sincerity, to their equals;

of due respect to the aged and to superiors; of reverence for the institutions of our country; of love of social order and obedience to the laws; of supreme regard to the will and name of God; and shall instill into their minds an abhorrence of idleness, of profane and indecent language, of falsehood, dishonesty and inhumanity; a dread of the misrule of appetite and passion, and of the fatal consequences of a vicious life.

37. If any Teacher shall intentionally violate any of the regulations of the Board made for his or her observance, or shall counteract any of their orders duly promulgated to him or her, such Teacher may immediately, upon proof of the fact, be dismissed from office.

38. Parents shall take care that their children are at the school room punctually at the opening of the school, that their attendance is constant and regular and that in all respects they are cleanly in their person and neat in their apparel.

39. Whenever a Teacher shall consider the irregular attendance of any scholar as deranging his or her plan and system of instruction, and retarding the progress of other scholars, although his or her absences may not bring such scholar within the provisions of the 30th rule the Teacher shall notify his or her parents or guardians that such scholar will be put into a lower class unless a change immediately takes place; and if such irregularity is continued, such scholar shall be placed in a lower class, and if still persevered in, be transferred by the Board, on representation of the Teacher, to a lower grade of schools.

40. Monitors shall not be allowed in the schools of this district.

41. The scholars shall conduct themselves orderly, quietly, and decently in going from their houses to their school rooms, and in returning again to the same; and if it shall be known to any Teacher, from personal observation or on credible testimony, that any one or more of his scholars have in going to or from his or her school room or dwelling been guilty of any immorality, or fighting, or disorderly conduct, it shall be his or her duty to take cognizance of the offence at a subsequent meeting of the school, and punish the offender as the case may warrant.

42. The Sessions shall be from 2d of January to 1st of July, and from the 15th day of August to 17th of December; and if

any scholar shall be stricken off the rolls for absences more than twice in either session, such scholar shall not be re-admitted during the session for which he or she was so stricken off, sickness excepted.

43. No scholar shall be transferred who does not attend the public and private examinations, except such absence was caused by sickness, and no scholar under twelve years of age shall be admitted into the High Schools.

44. If any scholar shall neglect or refuse to provide, after having reasonable notice given him or her, any school book authorized by the Board, and necessary for the recitations of his or her class, or perseveringly refuse to study a lesson assigned to him or her by the Teacher, unless exempted according to the rules of the Board, he or she shall be transferred to a lower class where such book or study is not required; and if there be no such class, then to be stricken off the roll until the meeting of the Board, when the Teacher shall report the case to be acted on as circumstances may require; but should the book be procured in the interval the scholar may be re-admitted without the order of the Board.

45. Whenever scholars shall be struck off the roll of the High Schools, they shall be required to stand a satisfactory examination, before their re-admission, except in case of sickness.

46. No pupil shall be admitted to the privileges of one school who has been expelled from another, or while under suspension.

47. Children attending school are required to be cleanly in appearance and decently clad. A failure to comply with this requisition will be sufficient cause to send the child home for such attention as it may require.

48. Diplomas will be awarded to such scholars as have completed the course in the High Schools, and given such proofs of their attainments and deportment as will be satisfactory to the Board.

49. No scholar shall be permitted to attend school who is a member of any family in which *scarlet fever*, *small-pox*, *varioloid*, *diphtheria*, or any other contagious disease prevails.

50. Scholars shall not be permitted to assemble in or about the school houses or school rooms at an earlier hour than five minutes before the time fixed for opening the schools; neither shall they loiter nor tarry about the school buildings after the

schools are dismissed. Teachers are required to enforce this rule.

51. Parents are particularly requested to make themselves acquainted with the rules governing the schools, as the Teachers are required to execute them strictly. No person will be allowed to visit the schools for the purpose of finding fault with the Teachers. Those having complaints to make will confer with the Teacher out of school, or with the Directors. Visits of parents and others, for the purpose of ascertaining how the schools are conducted, will always be agreeable and desirable.

52. Scholars struck off the roll for absences are required to bring a note from one of their parents, or such parent's personal application will be necessary for their re-admission.

53. Parents will be accommodated by transferring children from one school to another of the same grade, when they are not full, and no special objection exists; or from a higher to a lower grade, so as to meet circumstances and preferences, but such cannot be done from a lower to a higher grade of schools.

54. If a parent wishes a child to attend to particular studies only, it is permitted with the consent of the Board; but such irregularity, except under peculiar circumstances, is considered injurious to the scholar and a bad example to the school, and none such can be transferred to a higher grade.

55. Teachers of the *Secondary Grade* and *High Schools* are required to make out monthly reports of the standing of their respective scholars, and have them signed by the parent or guardian of such scholar, and then returned to the Teacher.

56. Each school shall be opened in the morning by the Teacher's reading a chapter from the Testament.

57. It shall be the duty of the Janitor to devote his entire time to the preservation and care of the school buildings and property, by keeping up repairs, cleaning yards, rooms, cellars, walks, &c., making and taking proper care of the fires in the schools taught by females, and all such work about the buildings, lots, &c., as may be directed by this Board, or any member thereof, and perform such other duties as this Board may require; *Provided*, That when in the opinion of the Committee on Repairs additional help shall be necessary, said Committee shall have permission to supply such help.

COURSE OF STUDIES.

PRIMARY DEPARTMENT.

First Grade.—Primer, Elementary Speller, First Reader, Primary Mental Arithmetic, Testament.

Second Grade.—Second Reader, Elementary Speller, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Primary Geography, Writing, Music, Testament.

■ SECONDARY DEPARTMENT.

First Grade.—Third Reader, Pronouncing Speller, Geography, Language Primer, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Writing, Music, Testament.

Second Grade.—Fourth Reader, Pronouncing Speller, Webster's Dictionary, Geography, Language Lessons, Grammar, History of the United States, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Map Drawing, Writing, Town's Analysis, Music, Testament.

HIGH SCHOOLS.

Girls' High School.—Webster's Dictionary, Town's Analysis, Grammar, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Writing, English History, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Botany, Astronomy, Geometry, Physiology and Hygiene, Music.

Boys' High School.—English History, Webster's Dictionary, Writing, Town's Analysis, Grammar, Geography, Mental and Written Arithmetic, Natural Philosophy, Algebra, Geometry, Astronomy, Physiology and Hygiene, Book Keeping, Surveying, Music, Latin and Greek.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT—1877.

Dr.

To Balance in Treasury at last settlement, \$	335.56	
“ Outstanding taxes, 1st June, 1876,	5,288.88	
“ Tax assessed for 1876,.....	10,917.40	
“ Loan,.....	1,000.00	
“ State Appropriation,.....	1,520.76	
“ Tuition of non-resident scholars,.....	185.55	
“ Amount due Treasurer,.....	930.37	
		<u>\$20,178.51</u>

Cr.

By Building and furnishing school houses, \$	1,447.50	
“ Repairs, etc.,.....	275.52	
“ Teachers' salaries,.....	9,712.67	
“ Fuel and contingencies,.....	667.58	
“ Collector's fees,.....	200.00	
“ Treasurer's commission,	219.94	
“ Secretary's salary,.....	30.00	
“ All other expenses,.....	469.75	
		<u>20,178.51</u>
Actual cash expenditures,.....	\$13,262.96	
Abatement to prompt taxpayers,.....	329.40	
Outstanding taxes, 1874-5-6, subject to exonerations,.....	6,586.15	
		<u>20,178.51</u>
Resources of District,.....	\$7,298.65	
Liabilities of District,.....	4,930.36	
		<u>\$2,368.29</u>

STATISTICS — 1877.

Whole number of Schools,.....	21
Number of months taught,.....	10
Number of male teachers,.....	8
Number of female teachers,.....	14
Average salaries for males, per month,.....	\$61.25
" " " females " "	\$37.00
Number of male scholars,.....	481
" " female "	522— 1,003
Average number attending school,.....	895
Average percentage of attendance,.....	90
Cost per month of each scholar.....	\$1.03
Estimated value of School property,.....	\$36,000

DIRECTORS.

The following named gentlemen have served as Directors :

	When elected or appointed.	End of service.
Andrew Blair,	March 26, 1836.	Jan'y 7, 1856.
James Hamilton,	March 26, 1836.	April 5, 1847.
Peter B. Smith,	March 26, 1836.	Oct'r 4, 1837.
Dr. John Creigh,	March 26, 1836.	July 4, 1836.
John Zollinger,	March 26, 1836.	July 13, 1836.
Edward J. Stiles.	March 26, 1836.	July 18, 1836.
Reinneck Angney,	July 4, 1836.	March 27, 1837.
Thomas B. Jacobs,	July 18, 1836.	Jan'y 16, 1837.
Lewis Harlan,	July 18, 1836.	Jan'y 3, 1842.
Robert Snodgrass,	Jan'y 16, 1837.	March 27, 1837.
Jason W. Eby,	March 27, 1837.	March 25, 1843.
George Fleming,	March 27, 1837.	May 18, 1839.
David Smith,	Oct'r 4, 1837.	April 10, 1838.
Jacob Fetter,	April 10, 1838.	Jan'y 8, 1839.
Thomas Craighead,	Jan'y 8, 1839.	April 1, 1839.
Reinneck Angney,	April 1, 1839.	April 4, 1842.
George Sanderson,	May 18, 1839.	Sept'r 24, 1849.
George McFeely,	Jan'y 3, 1842.	Jan'y 20, 1854.
William M. Biddle,	April 4, 1842.	March 27, 1845.
Dr. John J. Myers,	March 25, 1843.	March 20, 1849.
Robert Moore,	March 27, 1845.	March 23, 1848.
Reinneck Angney,	April 5, 1847.	Oct'r 19, 1848.
James Hamilton,	March 23, 1848.	Jan'y 24, 1873.
Lemuel Todd,	Oct'r 19, 1848.	April 2, 1849.
Thomas H. Skiles,	March 20, 1849.	Oct'r 6, 1856.
Patrick Davidson,	April 2, 1849.	April 2, 1851.
William H. Miller,	Sept'r 24, 1849.	March 23, 1850.
John Goodyear,	March 23, 1850.	Aug. 15, 1853.
Ephraim Cornman,	April 2, 1851.	-----
J. Ellis Bonham,	Aug. 15, 1853.	April 3, 1854.
Henry Saxton,	Feb'y 6, 1854.	-----
Philip Quigley,	April 3, 1854.	Aug. 17, 1864.
Robert M. Henderson,	Jan'y 7, 1856.	March 25, 1856.

DIRECTORS— <i>Continued.</i>	When elected or appointed.	End of service.
Andrew Blair,	March 25, 1856.	July 22, 1861.
John G. Williams,	Dec'r 1, 1856.	Sept. 7, 1857.
X Christian P. Humrich,	Nov'r 2, 1857.	-----
Robert C. Woodward,	Nov'r 4, 1861.	Aug. 19, 1872.
Henry Newsham,	Sept'r 19, 1864.	June 2, 1873.
James M. Weakley,	Aug. 19, 1872.	-----
John Irvine,	Feb'y 7, 1873.	June 7, 1875.
John B. Bratton,	June 2, 1873.	-----
John M. Wallace,	June 7, 1875.	-----
Samuel A. Bowers,	Oct'r 4, 1875.	-----
John A. Duncan,	Oct'r 4, 1875.	March 5, 1877.
Jacob C. Stock.	March 5, 1877.	-----

BOARD OF DIRECTORS—1877-8.

EPHRAIM CORNMAN, *President.*

HENRY SAXTON,

 X CHRISTIAN P. HUMRICH, *Secretary.*

JAMES M. WEAKLEY,

JOHN B. BRATTON,

JOHN M. WALLACE,

SAMUEL A. BOWERS,

JACOB C. STOCK.

OFFICERS OF THE BOARD.

JASON W. EBY, *Treasurer.*

CHARLES A. SMITH, *Janitor.*

The Board of Directors *originally* elected consisted of Andrew Blair, James Hamilton, Peter B. Smith, Dr. John Creigh, John Zollinger and Edward J. Stiles—the last three named resigned prior to July 20, 1836; and the vacancies thereby occasioned were filled by the selection of Reinneck Angney, Thomas B. Jacobs and Lewis Harlan, who constituted the Board when the schools were *organized and put into operation*, August 6, 1836. In 1875 the Board was increased by the addition of two members.

GRADUATES.

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

CLASSES PREVIOUS TO 1848.

Joseph J. Graham,
George Fleming,
Thompson Spottswood,
John Skiles Lee,
Davidson Eckels,
Samuel H. Gould,
Frederick Embeck,
✱ Christian P. Humrich,
Stephen A. Foulke,
Joseph C. Hoffer,
William E. Keller.

Sarah J. Davis,
Margaret J. McFeely,
Elizabeth Main,
Jane R. Ramsey,
Susan McFeely,
Jane E. Eby,
Charlotte Postlethwaite,
Rachel Edmond.

CLASS OF 1848.

Lewis J. W. Foulke,
John Byers Alexander,
John Jay Smith,
James Neal Eby,
Edwin D. Quigley.

CLASS OF 1849.

William H. Hepburn,
John E. Moore,
Jacob U. Wunderlich.

Mary Somerville,
Mary M. Sanderson.

TEACHERS— <i>Continued.</i>	When elected.	End of service.
William Lusk,	August 22, 1839.	March 2, 1840.
Levin Meginney,	March 2, 1840.	August 4, 1841.
M. A. Dooley,	March 21, 1840.	May 20, 1842.
Harriet Kaufman,	May 5, 1840.	May 26, 1840.
Rebecca A. Mason,	Oct'r 26, 1840.	Feb'y 17, 1842.
Abel W. Lobach,	Oct'r 26, 1840.	Oct'r 18, 1848.
Thomas D. Hampton,	March 22, 1841.	Aug. 29, 1842.
Warren Holden,	August 4, 1841.	Dec'r 26, 1842.
Mary C. Strine,	Feb'y 17, 1842.	May 8, 1846.
A. Cross,	May 20, 1842.	Oct'r 29, 1842.
Rachel Edmond,	August 29, 1842.	-----
Mary Dayton,	Oct'r 29, 1842.	July 17, 1843.
M. F. Barstow,	Oct'r 31, 1842.	April —, 1845.
James Pague,	Dec'r 26, 1842.	March 9, 1843.
James Finch,	March 9, 1843.	Sept'r 7, 1844.
Mary J. Harper,	April 3, 1843.	Dec'r 16, 1844.
Harriet N. Whitcomb,	August —, 1843.	Oct'r 9, 1846.
Charles S. Stone,	Sept'r 14, 1843.	Jan'y 15, 1846.
Davidson Eckels,	Sept'r 16, 1844.	Nov'r 27, 1876.
Ann Wilson,	Dec'r 16, 1844.	July 30, 1850.
Martha K. Underwood,	April 8, 1848.	Feb'y 3, 1875.
Allison Keepers,	Oct'r 10, 1845.	Aug. —, 1847.
John A. Dana,	Jan'y 15, 1846.	Aug. 10, 1846.
Gilbert Searight,	May 8, 1846.	Aug. 20, 1851.
James A. Devinney,	August 10, 1846.	July 29, 1848.
M. E. Hendel,	Oct'r 9, 1846.	April 2, 1853.
Elizabeth G. Main,	August —, 1847.	Aug. 9, 1852.
William H. Batt,	July 29, 1848.	April 3, 1852.
M. A. Jackson,	October 2, 1848.	Dec'r 14, 1848.
Alexander Tripner,	October 30, 1848.	July 2, 1852.
Martha McClellan,	Dec'r 14, 1848.	Dec'r 3, 1850.
Mary J. Jackson,	July 30, 1850.	March 25, 1854.
Henry J. Wolf,	July 30, 1850.	Dec'r 17, 1851.
Susan McFeely,	Dec'r 3, 1850.	Jan'y 28, 1851.
Mary E. Wilson,	Jan'y 28, 1851.	Jan'y 19, 1852.
Andrew McElwain,	Sept'r 1, 1851.	Sept'r 16, 1851.
Lewis J. W. Foulk,	Sept'r 16, 1851.	April 24, 1858.
Abner R. Kremer,	Dec'r 17, 1851.	Dec'r 6, 1852.

TEACHERS— <i>Continued.</i>	When elected.	End of service.
Adelaide Hoffman,	Jan'y 19, 1852.	Aug. 8, 1853.
Alexander Shiland,	April 3, 1852.	Aug. 7, 1852.
George W. Neidich,	July 3, 1852.	June 23, 1853.
William B. McGilvary,	August 7, 1852.	April 2, 1853.
Annie B. Ege,	August 9, 1852.	July 19, 1858.
Wesley Miles,	Dec'r 6, 1852.	Oct'r 17, 1853.
J. F. Downing,	April 2, 1853.	March 5, 1855.
H. B. Downing,	April 2, 1853.	Sept'r 12, 1853.
George S. Searight,	June 22, 1853.	Oct'r 16, 1855.
Margaret Armstrong,	August 8, 1853.	April 21, 1858.
Dorothy Frone,	Sept'r 12, 1853.	Jan'y 9, 1854.
Henrietta Adair,	Sept'r 17, 1853.	March 24, 1875.
Thompson Spottswood,	Oct'r 17, 1853.	Oct'r 16, 1855.
Cornelia Wing,	Jan'y 9, 1854.	Aug. 15, 1855.
Julia A. Beetem,	March 25, 1854.	Aug. 7, 1863.
James B. McCartney,	April 23, 1855.	Oct'r 20, 1858.
Charlotte Postlethwaite,	August 27, 1855.	July 17, 1865.
Andrew E. Carothers,	Oct'r 16, 1855.	March 25, 1856.
J. P. Kast,	Oct'r 16, 1855.	Jan'y 8, 1856.
John P. Johnston,	Jan'y 28, 1856.	March 25, 1856.
Thomas Richards,	March 25, 1856.	June 28, 1857.
Samuel D. Hampton,	April 5, 1856.	Jan'y 14, 1870.
William A. Tripner,	June 3, 1856.	March 23, 1858.
Mary F. Steel,	June 30, 1856.	Feb'y 2, 1858.
John H. Rheem, (music)	Feb'y 7, 1857.	Nov'r 19, 1859.
James M. Masonheimer,	Sept'r 7, 1857.	Oct'r 1, 1866.
Lucy Gardner,	Feb'y 2, 1858.	Sept'r 6, 1869.
Theodore Cornman,	March 23, 1858.	Nov'r 4, 1867.
Annie Underwood,	April 21, 1858.	Nov'r 20, 1873.
Jacob G. H. Ring,	April 24, 1858.	Nov'r 19, 1859.
Mary E. B. Phillips,	August 7, 1858.	- - - - -
Jacob U. Wunderlich,	Dec'r 20, 1858.	Feb'y 22, 1859.
Henry R. Williams,	Feb'y 22, 1859.	July 17, 1865.
William R. Linn (music),	Nov'r 19, 1859.	Aug. 18, 1862.
Robert D. Cameron,	Nov'r 26, 1859.	April 22, 1867.
Ellen Cornman,	August 7, 1863.	Dec'r 4, 1865.
Emma C. Humrich,	August 7, 1863.	- - - - -
Mary Reighter,	Dec'r 5, 1864.	July 24, 1871.

TEACHERS.	When el c ed.	End of service.
Bella Beetem,	July 17, 1865.	- - - - -
Jacob C. Stock,	July 17, 1865.	Dec'r 7, 1868.
Mary E. Postlethwaite	July 17, 1865.	- - - - -
Mary Landis,	Dec'r 4, 1865.	- - - - -
Henry R. Williams,	October 1, 1866.	Sept'r 10, 1869.
F. M. L. Gillelen,	April 22, 1867.	April 28, 1868.
Frederick Embeck,	Nov'r 4, 1867.	Jan'y 4, 1875.
Theodore Cornman,	April 28, 1868.	June 30, 1868.
William G. Myers,	July 29, 1868.	- - - - -
David M. C. Gring,	Dec'r 7, 1868.	Feb'y 20, 1875.
Margaret V. McManus,	Sept'r 6, 1869.	July 24, 1871.
Andrew McElwain,	Sept'r 10, 1869.	Sept'r 22, 1869.
Wesley A. Hipple,	Sept'r 22, 1869.	- - - - -
Jesse P. Zeigler,	Jan'y 24, 1870.	Jan'y 3, 1876.
Lizzie Greenfield,	July 24, 1871.	- - - - -
Ella C. Lemar,	July 24, 1871.	- - - - -
Virginia Turner,	Nov'r 20, 1873.	Feb'y 3, 1875.
Mary Cornman,	Dec'r 21, 1874.	- - - - -
Charles M. Worthington,	Jan'y 4, 1875.	- - - - -
W. A. Searight (music),	Jan'y 4, 1875.	June 30, 1876.
Lizzie J. Parkinson,	Feb'y 3, 1875.	Sept'r 10, 1877.
Daniel F. Rohrer,	Feb'y 20, 1875.	- - - - -
Mollie Ogilby,	March 24, 1875.	- - - - -
F. C. Fleming,	Jan'y 3, 1876.	- - - - -
Joseph G. Vale,	Feb'y 28, 1876.	- - - - -
A. Newberry (music),	July 18, 1876.	- - - - -
Amelia Blair,	Nov'r 11, 1876.	- - - - -
J. Pierce Bobb,	Dec'r 19, 1876.	Feb'y 17, 1877.
John A. Duncan,	Feb'y 24, 1877.	- - - - -
Eliza Miles,	Sept'r 10, 1877.	- - - - -
Eliza J. Keeney,	Nov'r 8, 1877.	- - - - -

GRADUATES.

*BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL**GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.*

CLASSES PREVIOUS TO 1848.

Joseph J. Graham,
George Fleming,
Thompson Spottswood,
John Skiles Lee,
Davidson Eckels,
Samuel H. Gould,
Frederick Embeck,
✱ Christian P. Humrich,
Stephen A. Foulke,
Joseph C. Hoffer,
William E. Keller.

Sarah J. Davis,
Margaret J. McFeely,
Elizabeth Main,
Jane R. Ramsey,
Susan McFeely.
Jane E. Eby,
Charlotte Postlethwaite,
Rachel Edmond.

CLASS OF 1848.

Lewis J. W. Foulke,
John Byers Alexander,
John Jay Smith,
James Neal Eby,
Edwin D. Quigley.

CLASS OF 1849.

William H. Hepburn,
John E. Moore,
Jacob U. Wunderlich.

Mary Somerville,
Mary M. Sanderson.

GRADUATES — *Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL.

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.

CLASS OF 1850.

J. Holmes Mason,
William I. Natcher.

Sarah E. Steel,
Sarah J. Porter,
Annie E. Stroop,
Mary E. Sheaffer,
Harriet S. Brannon,
Mary F. Leidy,
Margaret S. Searight,
Elizabeth F. Burkholder,
Mary M. Bentz,
Mary J. Lamberton,
Louisiana Gardner,
Mary E. Smith,
Mary R. Elliott,
Rebecca S. Proctor,
Mary F. Steel,
Caroline D. Cooke,
Annie B. Ege.

CLASS OF 1851.

George W. Neidich,
Charles W. Bell,
William H. Harkness.

Anna Butler,
Sarah E. Matthews,
Annie M. Bentz.

CLASS OF 1852.

Julia A. Beetem,
Annie E. Mullin,
Eliza J. Rheem,
Hester N. McClellan,
Annie M. Eby,
Flora Cooke,
Anna J. Lamberton,
Cecilia Faller,
Mary A. Hughes,
Mary K. Hitner.

CLASS OF 1853.

James A. Roney,
John K. Hitner,
Isaac Elliott.

GRADUATES—*Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

CLASS OF 1863.

William M. B. Eckels,
Joseph F. Brady,
Robert E. Johnston.

Annie Ogilby,
Lizzie E. Bentz,
Mary E. Plank,
Laura E. Alexander,
Rachel Edmonds,
Fanny R. Hannon,
Mary P. Moore,
Mary J. Lamberton.

CLASS OF 1864.

Samuel A. Duncan,
Henry W. Swigert,
Jesse P. Zeigler.

Evaline W. Brightbill.

CLASS OF 1865.

Frederick S. Law,
Alfred H. Addams.

Mary C. Bentz,
Emma K. Harn,
Kate E. Williams,
Kittie M. Eby,
Jane C. Zollinger,
Emily M. Foote.

CLASS OF 1866.

Edward I. Todd,
Millard F. Thompson,
Edmund U. Loomis,
Raymond C. Loomis,
Robert Lamberton,
George Scobey.

Hettie A. Landis,
Nannie H. Zeigler,
Matilda C. Humer.

CLASS OF 1867.

Louis V. Faller,
Robert H. Conlyn.
George B. Line,
John W. Wetzel.

Minnie J. Fleager,
Kate C. Brightbill,
Emma L. Hannon,
Anna L. North,
Kate M. Hey,
Mary E. Abrims,
Laura R. Halbert.

GRADUATES—*Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL.

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.

CLASS OF 1860.

William S. Roney,
John F. McMath,
John A. Duncan,
John Cornman,
Andrew J. Wetzell.

Martha J. Steel,
Mary Landis,
Elizabeth J. Parkinson,
Mary A. Bender,
Eliza M. Miles,
Virginia Faust,
Cornelia Smead,
Annie E. Thompson,
Catharine H. Line,
Catharine E. Zinn,
Jane A. Ewing.

CLASS OF 1861.

Charles D. Law,
John E. Zug,
Jefferson W. Edmonds,

Sarah S. Thompson,
Sarah C. Focht,
Sallie E. Matthews,
Amelia A. Brightbill,
Virginia E. Turner,
Hettie Addams,
Hannah M. Culver,
Bella Turner,
Anna M. Brady,
Laura D. Weaver,
Clarissa A. Sipe,
Elizabeth McMillan.

CLASS OF 1862.

Alfred M. Rhoads,
A. D. Bache Smead,
Frank A. Gutshall,
Davidson H. Eckels.

Emma Leeds,
Grace Loomis,
Anna A. Blair,
Dolly F. Brightbill,
Mary F. Sullivan,
Annastasia Faller,
Mary J. Spottswood.

GRADUATES—*Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL.

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL.

CLASS OF 1872.

E. Harry Hoffer,
 Gilbert H. Hassler,
 Frank W. Craighead,
 David Blair,
 J. Redsecker Beetem,
 William W. Trout.

Mary C. Kieffer,
 Hettie B. Shryock,
 Eliza Keeney,
 Alice E. Gardner,
 Kate M. Black,
 Laura E. Shapley,
 Lizzie M. Shumpp.

CLASS OF 1873.

Peter S. Stuart,
 William H. Little,
 Jacob S. Beetem,
 William Spencer,
 C. Edward Low,
 William M. Henderson.

Elmira J. Oyster.
 Ellen J. McCaskey,
 Minnie Neidich,
 Martha Irene Frederick,
 Mary G. Houston,
 Emma I. Lamison,
 Anna M. Smiley,
 Minnie A. Hoffer,
 Kittie Neidich,
 Alice R. Halbert,
 Annie B. Rhoads.
 Mary E. Campbell.

CLASS OF 1874.

John M. Rhey,
 David R. Thompson,
 Harry W. Spangler,
 William B. Humrich,
 Albert N. Brindle,
 George A. Speck.

Minnie A. Rhoads,
 Sallie E. Kieffer,
 Mary B. Shumpp,
 Anna H. Alsbaugh,
 Alba E. Crouse,
 Sallie E. Hassler,
 Essie P. McMillen,
 Ettie B. Allison,
 M. Annie Smith,
 Mary Cornman,
 Annie M. Monger.

GRADUATES — *Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

CLASS OF 1868.

Joseph S. Ensminger,
James G. Thompson,
Samuel Arthur,
David Ralston,
George D. Keller,
Jacob L. Corbett,
J. Marshall Hannon,
Robert F. Lamberton,
James W. Dale.

Bella Widner,
Annie M. McCartney.
M. Lizzie Wolf,
Mary M. McCaleb,
Sue M. Rhey,
Mary M. Ringwalt,
Emma M. Cornman,
Florence C. Brady.
M. Jennie Stuart,
Mary L. McMillen.

CLASS OF 1869.

John H. Blair,
Weirich Z. Bentz,
Daniel Cornman,
Edward B. Bretz.

Annie S. Black,
Mary R. Weaver,
Kate Halbert,
Mollie M. Porter,
Lizzie G. Miles,
Helen Noble.

CLASS OF 1870.

Charles J. Klopp,
Frank G. Duncan,
Christian H. Ruhl,
Richard M. Parker,
John A. H. Barnitz,
Ephraim Cornman,
John C. Colwell,
Henry H. Myers.

Laura V. Widner,
Mary E. Dehuff,
Sarah E. Motts,
Emma J. Black,
Kate E. Hyer,
Emma M. Glass,
Laura Swigert,
Hattie C. Thompson.

CLASS OF 1871.

Edwin Duncan,
J. Edwin Barnitz,
John M. Bentz,
William A. Hardy,
Harry H. Halbert,
Frank P. Naugle,
Wilson Foulke.

Annie Weirich,
Annie E. Cameron,
Annie L. Shoemaker,
Jennie Noble,
Maggie E. Eckels,
Hallie S. Hoover,
Emma F. Brightbill.

CORPS OF TEACHERS — 1878.

*No. of
School.*

1. Lizzie Greenfield,	}	<i>First Grade Primary.</i>
2. Mollie Ogilby,		
3. Eliza A. Keeney,		
4. Emma C. Humrich,		
5. Rachel Edmond,		
6. Ella C. Lemar.		
7. Eliza Miles,	}	<i>Second Grade Primary.</i>
8. Mary Cornman,		
9. William G. Myers,		
10. F. C. Fleming,		
11. Bella Beetem,	}	<i>First Grade Secondary.</i>
12. Amelia Blair,		
13. Charles M. Worthington,		
14. Joseph G. Vale,		
15. Mary E. B. Phillips,	}	<i>Second Grade Secondary.</i>
16. Mary Postlethwaite,		
17. Wesley A. Hipple,		
18. Daniel F. Rohrer,		
19. Sarah Bell,		
20. Mary Landis,	}	<i>High Schools.</i>
21. John A. Duncan,		
A. Newberry, <i>Teacher of Music.</i>		

GRADUATES — *Continued.*

BOYS' HIGH SCHOOL

GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL

CLASS OF 1875.

William P. Campbell,
Walter Stuart,
J. Warren Harper,
Charles H. Sipe,
John W. Plank.

Minnie S. Cramer,
Mary F. Shryock.
Mary C. Aberle.
Mary E. McGonegal.
Sadie A. Reighter,
Susie M. Barnitz.
Bertha M. Monyer,

CLASS OF 1876.

Charles F. Humrich,
George McMillen,
John E. Hampton,
Samuel A. Martin,
Andrew J. Dixon,
Adam S. Allison,
George W. U. Cornman.

Mary H. Strock,
Susie E. Rheem,
Sophia L. Lszman.
Kate G. Hassler.

CLASS OF 1877.

William L. Heysinger,
Philip Quigley,
Clement B. Sites,
James H. Colwell,
Hedley V. Cooke,
Charles S. Heckman,
Raymond E. Shearer.

Anna M. McCaskey,
Annie M. Mahon,
Martha J. Robinson,
Ida F. Hartman,
Minnie E. Shearer,
Alice E. Smiley,
Maggie E. Fleming.

CORPS OF TEACHERS — 1878.

*No. of
School.*

1. Lizzie Greenfield,	}	<i>First Grade Primary.</i>
2. Mollie Ogilby,		
3. Eliza A. Keeney,		
4. Emma C. Humrich,		
5. Rachel Edmond,		
6. Ella C. Lemar.	}	<i>Second Grade Primary.</i>
7. Eliza Miles,		
8. Mary Cornman,		
9. William G. Myers,		
10. F. C. Fleming,	}	<i>First Grade Secondary.</i>
11. Bella Beetem,		
12. Amelia Blair,		
13. Charles M. Worthington,		
14. Joseph G. Vale,	}	<i>Second Grade Secondary.</i>
15. Mary E. B. Phillips,		
16. Mary Postlethwaite,		
17. Wesley A. Hipple,		
18. Daniel F. Rohrer,	}	<i>High Schools.</i>
19. Sarah Bell,		
20. Mary Landis,		
21. John A. Duncan,		
A. Newberry, <i>Teacher of Music.</i>		

The First Church

In Plymouth



1620

1893

The First Church In Plymouth

**The
First Church
in
Plymouth**



CHURCH REMAINS IN FIRST PLACE

“That as one small candle may light a thousand so the light kindled here may in some sort shine even to the whole nation.”—*Wm. Bradford.*

“She that had made many rich, became herself poor.”—*Wm. Bradford.*



PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH.



THE First Church in Plymouth, the church of the Pilgrims, is the oldest organization in the country. It antedates the Landing, for the men and women who formed this church separating from the little congregations at Scrooby and Austerfield in 1608 passed over the sea into Amsterdam and later to Leyden, remaining there until their departure in the Mayflower for the new world in 1620. This company assembled for the first meeting in Plymouth in the "Common House" on the southerly side of Leyden Street, which was early destroyed by fire. When the fort, "strong and comly," on Burial Hill was built, its roof surmounted by cannon commanding the surrounding country, they used the lower part for their church. "They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door: they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the Governor, in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on and with a small cane in his hand—and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day."*

Upon the slope of the hill in 1648 the first meeting house was erected in Plymouth, upon which hung the first church bell.

Their second house of worship was built in 1683 and was followed in 1744 by a third on the same hill and in 1831 they built the house lately destroyed by fire, standing upon nearly the

*De Rasieres

same spot, facing the first street, "their hill of graves behind it, their watery way before."

In an unbroken succession the ministry of this church has continued from the days of Robinson and Brewster to the present. On its walls hung portraits of faithful and devoted men who ministered to its congregations and who have long since gone to their rest. Its records from the very beginning have been piously preserved; its ancient silver, given by generous donors in the years that have gone, is still carefully cherished. It was for nearly two centuries the only church in the village of Plymouth. From it have gone out many churches. Its inspiration and teachings, starting from the rock of Plymouth, have covered a continent stretching from sea to sea. Its three centuries of continued existence, its records, traditions, and associations present peculiar claims for the interest and support of every son and daughter of New England. It was not only the church of Scrooby, but also the church of Amsterdam and Leyden, and the church of the Mayflower company; not only the church of Robinson and Brewster, but the church of Bradford and Standish; not only the church of the first settlers upon the shores of New England, but the church of toleration and progress; the church that ever instructed its communicants to keep their minds open for more light and truth yet to come. It was the first purely democratic, the first distinctly Congregational church. The men who signed the compact in the cabin of the Mayflower were the men who subscribed to the simple church covenant.

The edifice recently destroyed by fire was ever open for any Public service for town as well as parish. In its tower hung the town bell, cast by Paul Revere, and bearing his name.

This bell the town has voted to recast and hang again in the church which will soon rise from the ashes of the old.

From every side, in magazine and paper, in public and private, has come the request that the new church in Plymouth should not be built for the Plymouth parish alone, but should express the love and gratitude which the descendants of the Pilgrims everywhere, which the people of every state owe to the Pilgrim Company, a church to serve not merely the needs of the parish, but to stand as an enduring memorial of what the religious life of its founders has done for this nation, of the freedom which inspired the Pilgrims, of the breadth of thought and toleration of expression which characterized them, and of that right of individual judgment which marks the liberal of every age. It should emphasize and commemorate the splendid spirit of religious liberty which the lives of the Pilgrims expressed, whose confession of faith was a sublime confidence in the Word of God known and to be known. Public liberality in the past has built a canopy over the rock and erected the Pilgrim monument. But the memorial most appropriate, interesting and suggestive of that Pilgrim company whose members have left an unfading example to all time in the simplicity of their lives, and who have marvellously shaped and fashioned the policy of great states and a greater country by the freedom and loftiness of their thought, would be a church simple in form and enduring in material standing upon the old site on the slope of Burial Hill, facing the ancient square and the first street of the Pilgrims.

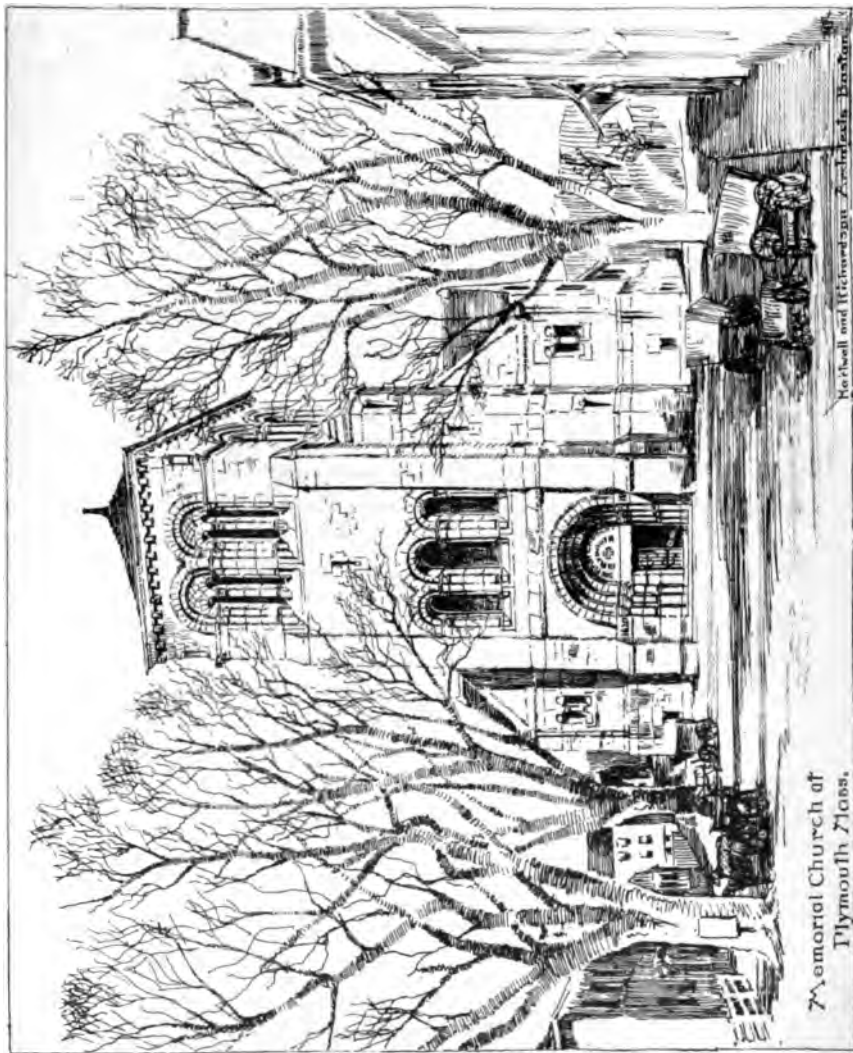
One half of the amount needed to build such a church has already been secured by the

Plymouth parish. The Building Committee of the new church have published this statement to call the attention of those interested in Plymouth and the Pilgrims to this opportunity to build a memorial in their honor. It is important to determine speedily whether such interest is sufficient to raise the further sum of thirty thousand dollars which is necessary to build such a memorial.

BUILDING COMMITTEE
FIRST CHURCH, Plymouth.

Subscriptions to the church building fund may be sent to WILLIAM S. KYLE, Treasurer, Plymouth, Mass.

All subscriptions received will be applied to the erection of the new church at Plymouth, the Committee reserving the right to vary the plan, as both form and detail must depend upon the amount of subscriptions received.



THE SPARKELL PRINT, BOSTON



NEW YORK STATE EDUCATIONAL EXHIBIT

COLUMBIAN EXHIBITION, CHICAGO.

THE
Schools of New York.



New York State Educational Exhibit, Columbian Exposition, Chicago.

THE
SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK.

A GLANCE AT THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM
OF THE
EMPIRE STATE.

Prepared by the Department of Public Instruction.

ALBANY:
JAMES B. LYON, STATE PRINTER.
1893.

THE SCHOOLS OF NEW YORK.

A GLANCE AT THE COMMON SCHOOL SYSTEM OF THE EMPIRE STATE.

PREPARED BY THE
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

It is a proud record — this wide, outspread, many-colored history of the common schools of the Empire State. Its beginnings go back to the days when the State bore another name, when the sturdy, independent spirit that animated the new-born Dutch republic first breathed upon the shores of the Hudson and quickened into active life the germs of liberty and enlightenment, afterwards to blossom forth in such fair and fragrant manner. The national abhorrence of tyranny, grounded in the hearts of those colonists from the Netherlands, included ignorance on the list of tyrants, and education became with them the synonym of liberty.

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, when the stout-hearted English captain was preparing for his memorable voyage in the Half Moon, and for the founding of a colony that was to become the greatest commonwealth in an immeasurably greater republic than that under whose flag he sailed, Holland was foremost among the nations of Europe in the education of its citizens. Schools immediately followed the establishment of a regular colony on the Hudson, and Adam Rolaendson, the schoolmaster, was one of the earliest importations into the Empire State. Schools were prized by the colonists as much as food or shelter, government and protection.

The States General, after a long, heroic war of independence, paid particular attention to the welfare of the schools and made education the chief bulwark of the new republic. It was exceptionally good stock that laid the foundations of our great State.

The Dutch colonists came from a land which will glow in the pages of history forever as the scene of the first great struggle for liberty in Europe, as the high-water mark from which the waves of feudalism and tyranny first began to recede. They brought with them to the new world the love of liberty which had grown up in their native land, moistened by the blood and suffering of countless martyrs, and strengthened by the prestige of countless triumphs over the banded forces of oppression. They also brought with them the love for the school, which they revered as the palladium of their liberties, the fount of patriotism, the conservator of good government. The school had an especial significance to them, for it was the institution against which the efforts of tyranny were particularly directed during the eighty years' struggle in the Netherlands. Among the host of Dutch martyrs the name of the schoolmaster is of the most frequent occurrence.

"Neither the perils of war," writes one of their admirers, "nor the busy pursuit of gain, nor the excitement of political strife, ever caused the Dutch to neglect the duty of educating their offspring to enjoy that freedom for which their fathers fought. Schools were everywhere provided at the public expense, with good schoolmasters, to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education."

The early colonists on the shores of the Hudson were bluff, plain-spoken, earnest yet unpretentious men who brought over with them from the United Netherlands the liberal ideas, honest maxims and homely virtues of their country. With them came to the wilderness the church, the dominie and the schoolmaster. They came with no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, eminence in holiness or superiority in character. They showed that they were accustomed to do rather than to boast. Their clergymen were generally men of thorough education, who presided at the schoolmaster's desk quite as often as in the pulpit or in conventicle. The experience and suffering of the eighty

years' struggle for independence taught the sturdy Hollanders the value of schools and the necessity of State supervision over them, for not a little of their success came from the educated and intelligent spirit of their people.

Early Efforts to Establish Common Schools.

The public documents of the Dutch colonial period abound with instances of the solicitude of the home government for the education of the young colonists. The charter of privileges and exemptions for patroons and colonists in 1630 laid particular stress on the necessity of making prompt provision for the support of a minister and schoolmaster. In the remonstrance of the inhabitants of New Netherlands to the States General in 1649 it is earnestly recommended that there should be a public school, provided with at least two good masters, "so that first of all, in so wild a country, where there are so many loose people, the youth be well taught and brought up, not only in reading and writing, but also in the knowledge and fear of the Lord. As it is now, the school is kept very irregularly, one and another master keeping it open according to his own pleasure and as long as he thinks proper."

At the time this remonstrance was sent to the States General, Peter Stuyvesant was director of the colony, and he wrote earnestly to the Classis at Amsterdam to send out to New Amsterdam "a pious, well-qualified and diligent schoolmaster," as nothing is of more importance than the right early instruction of youth. The zealous Stuyvesant, finding there could be no school in the nascent metropolis for want of a schoolhouse, consented to give temporary accommodations for the same in one of the government houses. It was about the same period that it was enjoined upon the commonalty to have the youth instructed by schoolmasters.

Among such a struggling community, poor and uncertain as to the ultimate result of their efforts to establish a permanent home along the beautiful river of the west, there were not any financial inducements held out to the emigrating schoolmaster. In one of the colonial bills of 1643, we read of an item of thirty florins, some twelve dollars of our money, for the services per month of one schoolmaster, precentor and sexton. That was

keeping teachers' salaries down to a very low standard. But the very poverty of the colonists, leaving their native land with scarcely sufficient means to carry them across the ocean and to settle them in some corner of the colony, a bar in itself to the encouragement to schools, is a proof of how much they thought of education.

They were willing to contribute out of their scanty earnings sufficient to pay the schoolmaster; and their liberality, under the circumstances, was quite as great as that of their descendants and more than that of the English colonists who never cultivated the same love for popular education. The millions which a broad-minded, public-spirited State government, legislative and executive, now cheerfully expends in promoting and developing common schools, are proportionately no more signal instances of appreciation of public education than was the mite of the Dutch colonist, oft-times more than he could afford.

The famous Classis of Amsterdam took an active part in promoting the cause of education in New Netherland. In 1650, about seventeen years after the first professional schoolmaster arrived in the colony, William Vestens, a "good, God-fearing man," was sent over by the Classis to take charge of the school at Manhattan, and in the same year came Jan Cornelissen to New Amsterdam as pedagogue. Gideon Schaats, who had an extensive experience in teaching at Beest, was ordained by the Classis and sent to Rensselaerwyck in 1652. A few years later, Director Stuyvesant interdicted Jacob Corlaer from teaching school because he presumed to take such office upon himself, without due authorization from the provisional government, which action was carrying the principle of State care of education to the extreme. The first Latin teacher in the colony was Doctor Alexander Carolus Curtius, who was sent over from Amsterdam in 1659. He received \$200 a year salary from the Classis, and the city of New Amsterdam allowed him eighty dollars more, and permitted him to practice the medical profession. He became quite a celebrity for a time and had an abundance of pupils and patients, but his quarrelsome disposition got him into trouble with parents,

burgomasters and schepens; and after a year or so he went home in disgust.

His successor, Dominie Aegidius Luyck, had much more lasting success. He made the high school at New Amsterdam so renowned that many children were sent to it all the way from Virginia.

A Sturdy Race.

All through these quaint old Dutch documents which illustrate a most interesting epoch of the history of New York, are scattered numerous evidences of the solicitude of the early settlers for education.

A strange race they were when compared with the nervous, bustling, go-ahead communities in town and city that keep the great State to-day in constant agitation, like the unceasing hum of an enormous hive.

Yet this phlegmatic race had accomplished apparent impossibilities before Hudson sailed for the New World, and had baffled the might of the greatest power on the face of the globe. They produced the most sagacious, indomitable, brilliant statesman and military leader of the sixteenth century, and gave to mankind an example of popular strength, the equal of which one may look for in vain in the pages of history. The main factor in the marvelous success of this race was the character of him who was considered for the time the really powerful man among them. He had to be always consistent, of ascertained principles and of adjusted views. The early colonist in his straightforwardness in New York was proof against these suspicious rulers, crowned or otherwise, who were always proposing concordats and ever asking for compromises. The Dutch settlers believed that an inconsistent great man is an impotent creature in practical matters, while a consistent moderate man does the work of a great one. This principle was carried out in the schools founded by those people, and caused them to watch jealously and unremittingly the work of their teachers. This principle enabled them to gain victories over obstacles which would have daunted more impulsive but less enduring men. It was but natural that

with them the church and the school should be so closely connected, as both were so intimately associated during the long war of independence for three generations.

Yet with all the force of public opinion and governmental encouragement in his favor, the lot of the schoolmaster in those early times was not an enviable one. The means of sustenance were slender and the struggle against adverse circumstances almost hopeless. The weight of the arms and the weariness of the fight laid many a pedagogic warrior low, from whom no blood flowed, but whose very spirit the heavy fall had cruelly broken. The armor of high resolve was not always an infallible protection, did not always insure victory. Still those stout-hearted Dutchmen had a wonderful philosophy of their own, which took adversity without a murmur and prosperity without undue elation.

Unlike their neighbors of New England, who at that age took a very gloomy view of the world, discovering evil everywhere, maintaining that men have no right to smile at anything, and that there are more thorns than roses in life, the settlers in New Netherland lived in the sunshine, in placid contentment, and fashioned their schools after the same pattern. Among them kindness was so abundant, nobility of heart so plentiful, the joys of home so pure and yet so attractive, their quiet, consistent ways so grateful and consoling, that the wilderness and the sparse spots rescued from it appeared happy places, with unfailing sources of content. This is what gave especial character and strength to the schools of that period. The course of instruction, limited though it might be, was eminently practical, sound and fitted for the rugged pathway of colonial life.

Among the curiosities of the Holland documents is a paper made public on September 2, 1638, entitled "Articles and conditions drawn up and published by the Chamber of Amsterdam, with the approbation of their High Mightinesses, the States General of the United Netherlands, in conformity to the authority of the XIX (Council of the West India Company) on which the respective Lands and Places shall, from now and henceforward, be

traded to, and frequented and settled, according to such form of government and police as may at present, or shall hereafter be established there by the Company or its agents." Under article 9 we read, "Each household and inhabitant shall bear such tax and public charge as shall hereafter be considered proper for the maintenance of schoolmasters and such like necessary officers." Two years later the States General laid particular emphasis on the order that "the West India Company shall provide and maintain good and suitable schoolmasters." The company, however, paid but scant heed to such order, for in 1650 there was sent from the colony a most indignant protest against "the excesses and highly injurious neglect which New Netherland had experienced since it has been placed under the Company." One of the complaints is that "a plate has been long going around for a school, but the money has been diverted to other purposes. Some few materials have been bought to it, but the first stone is yet to be laid." In answer to this charge the company declares that "the Director hath not the administration of the money that was taken up on the plate, but Jacob Couvenhoven, who is one of the petitioners, hath kept account of it in his quality as churchwarden." It is likely that the worthy Jacob was considerably put out by this neat retort.

A Pedagogic Pooh-bah.

One of the duties of the schoolmaster in the rude beginning of Manhattan life was to officiate occasionally as "Krank-besoecker," or consoler of the sick. Indeed, in a primitive community like that of the Dutch colonists, the teacher of the young had multifarious duties. He had to keep school under exceptionally discouraging circumstances, often without hope of recompense or appreciation on the part of the community. Not infrequently he took possession of the pulpit, sat hours by the bedside of the ailing and dying, and was at the service of everybody as a sort of bureau of information. When the Indians pressed too close or had committed outrages which aroused the whole community, the early New York schoolmaster went out into the pathless woods on

Manhattan Island or on Long Island with the rest, arquebus on shoulder and hanger by his side, and did battle as stoutly as any other volunteer. Many times the money collected for the building of a school was spent on a single Indian war. But the spirit of education burned brightly through all adverse conditions of Dutch life, and every administration sent from the mother country was obliged to recognize, sooner or later, the national love for school by grants and allowances.

In each school was displayed the staunch, national motto, "Eendragt maakt Magt (Unity makes Strength)," the precursor of our motto, "E. Pluribus Unum." It may shock the sensibilities of instructors at the present day to know that in 1652 the New Amsterdam directors agreed that the public school be established in the city tavern, as there was no building especially set aside for the purpose of education. But there was more decorum about the city tavern of that period than there is to-day in many of the meetings of trustees. The schoolmaster in the tavern received only eighty dollars a year as salary.

One of the most earnest and zealous advocates for public schools in the New Netherlands in the middle of the seventeenth century was the learned Dominie Johannes Megalopensis. He constantly urged upon the Classis at home to send out good schoolmasters, otherwise, "nothing else is expected than a ruined youth and a bewilderment of men's minds." He even undertook the ungrateful task of reclaiming the Indians and bringing them under the softening influence of the schoolmaster. His efforts in this direction were not encouragingly successful. He tells the Classis in his quaint style that there was one Indian who made such progress at school that in two years "he could read and write good Dutch." He was presented with a bible in order that some good could be done to the Indians through him. But alas! he acquired some of the vices as well as the blessings of civilization. The poor, deceived dominie adds plaintively: "It all resulted in nothing; he has taken to drinking brandy; he pawned the bible and became a real beast, doing more harm than good among the Indians."

In the neighboring settlements on Long Island, before the town of "Breukelinn" was thought of, schools were opened. Applications for the opening of such schools are spread out on the minutes of the Council of XIX. There is a petition in 1658 of Jan Lubberts, requesting permission to open a school in New Utrecht for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic. The council replies, "The request is granted provided he behaves as such a person ought to behave." In Bushwick in 1662 Bendewyn Maenhaut was engaged as schoolmaster, at \$160 a year, to be paid in wampum, with free lodgings thrown in. The West India Company (the XIX), generously added nine dollars a year in what they called easy money and what we would term hard cash, "so as to make the salary more easy."

There is a quaint petition among the Holland documents from the good people of Newtown, a town which still preserves its air of antiquity although situated on the outer verge of bustling Brooklyn. The inhabitants of the village at the time, 1661, were mostly of English extraction. This petition is worthy of being quoted entire, verbatim et literatim:

"To the honorable Lord Stuyvesant, Lord General of the New Netherlands the humble petition off your Lordships petitioners: That whereas God hath beene pleased off laet years to deprive vs off Middleborrow of Longey landt off the publyck means of grace and salvation, and alsoe off Education off our children, in Scholasticall discipline, the way to true happiness, but yet God in mercy off laet hath provided, for vs a helpe meete for the discipline of education of our children and by the same person helpe in the Saboth exercyse, wee therefore, who never gave or consented to the givinge of the housinge and lands, built and fenced in, and alsoo dedicated for the Use of the publyck dispensation off God's word Vnto Vs, we humbly intreat your honorable Lordship that this our sayde Schoolmaster Richard Mills by name may bee by your Lordships order be possessed of the sayde housings and lands, for his use and ours also, for our childrens Education and the Saboths exercyse, the which God doth requier, and we have need for vs and our children thereof as the housinge

now stands it is licke all to goe to rack and ruyne, the fences faelling downe, the house and barne decayinge and wanteth repayre and Francis Dowtye doth not repayre it, nor the towne, as it stands between him and them will not repayre it, and by this means it is licke to come to nothing in shorte time and soo wee and your Lordship alsoo by this means shall be disappointed; therefore our humble request is to your Lordship, is that this our Schoolmaster, and at present our souls helpe in dispencing Gods word to vs and our children Everye Lords day, may be settled in it, to enjoye it without any molestation from Francis Dowtye."

The director, Peter Stuyvesant, granted the petition by a decree stating "These presence doeth require and order Francis Dowtye, and whom it may Concerne, to give and graunt a quyett possession vnto the present Schoolmaster, Mr. Richard Mills, off the house and land."

Religious Teaching.

Religion and instruction went hand and hand in Dutch teaching. "I have seen," remarks one eminent writer, "a Dutch primer, or A, B, C book, as it is called. It has a large rooster on one page, and a picture of a Dutch school on the other. The master has a cap on his head and a bunch of twigs in his hand. A class stands before him and other boys are seated at the desks. After a very little spelling succeeds the Lord's Prayer, creed, decalogue, morning and evening prayer, grace before and after meat." As a sample of the various parts a schoolmaster in those days was expected to play may be mentioned an extract from the records of Flatbush, soon to be a part of the city of Brooklyn. The schoolmaster acted as town clerk, and as the rates of tuition were low, the offices of sexton and foresinger, or chorister of the church, were conferred upon him, with a view to increase his emoluments. He received all interment fees for infants and adults, according to a scale of established prices, and for his services as chorister he was paid an annual salary by the consistory of the church.

The schoolmaster, in addition to his duty of taking the lead in setting and singing the psalms and hymns, was also required

to ring the bell for all public services, to read the commandments at the commencement of the morning worship, and the apostle's creed in the afternoon. These latter services were all prepared in the Dutch language, and uniformly continued so until about the year 1790.

The greatest obstacle to the progress of common schools in New Netherland was the West India Company, which cared more for trading and making money than aught else. Had it been left to those traders, there would not have been a school from the mouth of the Hudson to Albany. But the spirit of the colonists, poor as they were in worldly possessions, was decidedly in favor of schools, as is shown by their repeated remonstrances to the States General against the indifference, parsimony and selfishness of "the Company." Peter Stuyvesant, enterprising as he was and admirer of learning as he showed himself to be on not a few occasions, was zealous only in promoting the immediate and material interests of "the Company," and declared he had no money for schools.

While it would not be in accordance with facts, therefore, to claim that public schools flourished under the Dutch colonial government, it is none the less true that the fundamental principles of the great system which now pulsates with life and ardor in every nook and corner of the State, were first implanted here by the Dutch. At the period of the settlement of New York and the New England States, Holland was immeasurably the superior of the European nations in promulgating through all classes of the people the blessings of education.

At that time the masses in England knew nothing about education, for the rule of the Stuarts was not favorable to the development of the public mind. At the same period Holland was the home of popular education, the influence of the schools reaching to the masses. The school followed closely on the heels of religion. From the time that a half dozen queer, gable-end houses held the entire population of the future metropolis of the New World until the colony surrendered to English rule, and the settlement on Manhattan Island was renamed by one worthless

Stuart, who then occupied the throne of England, after his still more worthless brother, the idea of popular education was very prominent in the minds of the Dutch colonists. This idea took the form of State support, as the schools were maintained out of the common treasury.

Then, as now, over two centuries later, the public moneys went out liberally (according to circumstances,) for the maintenance of a common school system. Then, as now, schoolmasters were included in the list of necessary public officials, and the people were taxed for the support of common schools. All honor then to those wise old Hollanders, with their grave burgomasters and schepens, their dominies and "Krank-besoeckers," who carried the torch of education into the wilderness and kept it burning, though the winds of adversity and poverty often threatened to extinguish it.

Education in New York under English Rule.

There came a period of universal decay in common school education in New York, extending from the time that the province passed under English dominion until it was redeemed by the war of independence and took its place in the American republic as a free, sovereign, independent State. The royal governors, to whom was entrusted the entire charge of the colony, did not believe in the education of the masses. They sometimes favored high schools, academies and colleges for the children of the wealthy, but they were of the opinion that the less the masses knew about schools, the less discontented they would be, and the less the chances of disturbance even under the grossest tyranny and misgovernment. It was particularly unfortunate that the transfer of the government of the colony should have taken place while the Stuarts were on the throne of England, for a more intolerant, unprogressive, worthless dynasty never afflicted a country. There was little for the cause of education in the colony to expect from the second Charles or his successor, the second James. The governors they sent over to New York did not trouble themselves, as a general rule, about schools for the masses or even academies for the classes.

Indeed, of all their American colonies, New York was long regarded by the English with feelings of especial dislike, on account of the alien nature of the early colonists, the hated Dutch, who so long commanded the sea and colonial enterprise in many parts of the world. The New England colonists despised the future Empire State, which they had contrived through their armed assistance to the government at London to wrest from the dominion of the United Netherlands. While they could not change the character of the people in the newly-christened colony New York—the plodding, persistent Dutch being predominant in business and in the colonial legislature—the royal governors did all in their power to mar their efforts for popular rights and local schools.

The records of those governors from Colonel Richard Nicolls in 1664 to William Tryon in 1775, show little thought of popular education. The Dutch colonists did not relax their efforts to sustain their schools in spite of the indifference and frequent opposition of their rulers, and occasionally wrung from the same rulers reluctant assent to the continuance of those schools. The policy of the Stuarts and their successors, the Guelphs, was to discourage popular education, as it set the people to reading and thinking, to know their rights, and knowing, to dare resist tyranny and assert popular sovereign. As a well-known historian of New York has said, “royal governors were afraid of schools for the common people.” Then the working masses in the colony were destitute of any feeling of self-reliance and ambition, for a large number considered themselves as born to ignorance and servitude, powerless to influence and destined to nothing but lives of drudgery. The records of the time abundantly illustrate the spirit of helplessness prevailing among tenants, farm laborers and ordinary mechanics and traders. All through the British colonial period no general system of education was established. Whatever education there was the wealthy classes alone enjoyed. A noted chronicler of the time speaking of the low order of the schools says: “The instructors want instruction, and through a long, shameful neglect of all the arts and sciences our common speech is extremely corrupt, and the evidences

of bad taste as to both thought and language are visible in all our proceedings, public and private." Reading was neglected by all classes, remarks Mr. Howell, education was regarded as an affectation of learning, and a student was rarely found outside the professions of law, medicine and divinity. Some few of the young men, who were blessed by fortune, went to Europe for their education.

The poor and the toilers were deprived of all educational advantages beyond the merest rudiments, and these latter were sparingly doled out. The educational efforts made by the body of the learned clergy of the Reformed Dutch church in the colony produced a fairly encouraging harvest under the wise rule of the States General. "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," incorporated in London at the very beginning of the eighteenth century, made an attempt to introduce an educational system and to furnish a number of schoolmasters for the province in emulation of their Dutch predecessors. Colonel Caleb Heathcote of New York was one of those philanthropists of the period who conceived a plan for the establishment of schools throughout the province.

He failed as did the London society, for schools and books and teachers and a broader and deeper mind culture were sleeping in a future, the glorious results of which are enjoyed by the present generation. As under the Dutch government all private schoolmasters were required by the English rulers to be duly licensed by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, as may be seen from the following instructions to Governor Dongan in 1686, afterwards repeated to Governors Sloughter, Fletcher, Bellomont and Hunter.

"And wee doe further direct that noe Schoolmaster bee henceforth permitted to come from England and to keep school within Our Province of New York without license of the Archbishop of Canterbury; (or Bishop of London) and that noe other person now there or that shall come from other parts, bee admitted to keep school without your license first had."

Soundness in the beliefs and practices of the English church was the most essential requirement in a colonial schoolmaster.

One powerful influence in particular was against popular education during the English colonial period, and that was the aristocratic class who disliked paying taxes for schools, despised labor, and were only too willing to keep the poor in blissful ignorance and poverty. The minds of the colonists were besides much occupied by wars and preparations for the same, by which the establishment of schools was hindered just as all arrangements were complete for them, and others already in operation were interrupted and closed.

The First Legislative Act for Free Schools.

Under Lord Cornbury's administration the General Assembly of the province of New York made the first legislative move toward the establishment of public education. An act for the encouragement of a grammar free school in the city of New York passed the colonial Legislature on November 27, 1702, and received the official approval of the royal Governor. The schoolmaster, under the provision of the act, was to be "an able, skillful and orthodox person;" the pupils were classed as "youth and male children of French and Dutch extraction, as well as of English;" they were to be instructed "in the languages or other learning usually taught in Grammar Schools;" the schoolmaster was to receive fifty pounds a year and was to be licensed by the bishop of London or the Governor upon the recommendation of the common council of New York city. Lord Cornbury did nothing for the school beyond signing the act for its encouragement.

The existence of the school was limited by the act to seven years, but it died of inanition long before the expiration of that period. It was one step on the part of the people of the province to secure education for their children, but the indifference if not actual hostility of families of wealth and political position in New York to public schools effectually prevented their permanent establishment. Spasmodic attempts to found schools by granting licenses to candidates for teaching in towns on Long Island, in Westchester, in Kingston and New York, characterized the administrations of Cornbury and Hunter.

Among the standing orders of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts may be found the following:

"I. That no person be admitted a schoolmaster till he bring Certificates, with respect to the Particulars following: 1. The Age of the Person. 2. His condition of life, whether Single or Married. 3. His Temper. 4. His Prudence. 5. His Learning. 6. His Sober and Pious Conversation. 7. His Zeal for the Christian Religion and Diligence in his Calling. 8. His Affection to the present Government. 9. His conformity to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.

"II. That no person be sent as a Schoolmaster by the Society till he has been try'd and approv'd by three Members, appointed by the Society or Committee, by Word or Writing, his Ability to teach Reading, Writing, and the Catechism of the Church of England and such Exposition thereof, as the Society shall order."

Schoolmasters were ordered to see first to the spiritual welfare of their pupils and teach them to read truly and distinctly the Holy Scriptures in order "to inform their understandings and regulate their manners." They are also counselled to teach their scholars "to abhor Lying and Falsehood, and to avoid all sorts of Evil Speaking; to be Modest, Gentle, Well behav'd, Just and Affable and Courteous to all their Companions." Finally schoolmasters are warned "that they do, in their whole Conversation, show themselves Examples of Piety and Virtue to their Scholars, and to all, with whom they shall converse." All these requirements constitute a very elevated standard of moral teaching, which would have likely produced marvellous results had it been adhered to, and had schools under its influence been numerous. But perfection in human nature was as much of an unrealized ideal in those times as in ours, and we regret to say that schoolmasters then frequently indulged in brawls and lawsuits, in speculative trade not always of an unquestionable character, and in office seeking. They had much, however, to excuse their shortcomings, as their pay was generally insufficient to provide even the necessities of life, the annual salaries varying from thirty-five dollars to \$200.

The abstracts of the proceedings of the London society referred to have some interesting and instructive points on the work of the colonial schoolmaster. "Mr. Hudlestone, Schoolmaster at New York, teaches fifty poor children on the Society's Bounty to read and write and instructs them in the Church Catechism, many of which are now fit for any Trade; and as they go off his number is always kept up, poor People daily coming to see if there is any vacancy to admit their Children, being not able themselves to pay for their Learning * * * There has been a great Demand for Schoolmasters, but the Narrowness of their fund having obliged the Society to send but few of these, a worthy member of their body, Colonel Heathcote of New York, has suggested an expedient of maintaining a great many more Schoolmasters, at the easy rate of Five or Six Pounds per annum, which the Society has most readily embraced, and referred to the Governor himself, and the Missionaries of the Province, to put the proposal into practice." However lowly and incomplete were the schools for the education of the humbler classes in New York for the first three-quarters of the eighteenth century, there were many remarkable instances of zeal and devotion on the part of the schoolmaster. We read of a school in Cherry Valley kept by one Rev. Mr. Dunlap from 1744 to the Revolution. The scholars often followed their teacher as he cultivated his fields, and recited their lessons as he ploughed, planted, hoed and gathered his crops.

Sectarian feeling contributed its share towards blighting educational prospects. The Episcopal church had the political power under the royal government; but the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian churches were a power among the masses, and had much wealth and influence. There was great jealousy of a church establishment, especially of a church that had a bishop at its head. Yet it was far from the thoughts of the colonists to wish for a divorce between learning and religion.

Considering the great majority of female teachers now in the schools of the State of New York, it may be interesting to recite the fact that not one woman can be found in the annals of New

Netherland as teaching school and very few under the English rule.

While little attention was given to the mental culture of boys in the schools of the latter period, still less was bestowed upon girls, and few of them in the humbler walks of life advanced beyond household drudgery, which they regarded as their inevitable lot.

It is stated that many bright daughters, who married worthy men and became excellent wives and mothers could read only the simplest books and could write only their names. There were, of course, some notable exceptions, where a girl of active mind who early manifested marked fondness for knowledge and tact in acquiring the same, was in question. But for all young persons during the English colonial period the opportunities for education were exceedingly limited, and in the realm of letters most of the people were ambitionless. "There were no schools of medicine, law or divinity," says a commentator in that dark period in the history of our State;" no normal schools for teachers. The young disciples used to ride with the old doctor and visit with him his bed-side clinics, and witness his office consultations and treatment.

Coke and Blackstone were read in the office of some eminent knight of the green bag, and young aspirants sat at the feet of some Gamaliel and listened to his wisdom, took in his advice and saw how he managed causes in the courts. Students who contemplated ministry read courses in theology in the study of some leading clergyman, and prepared sermons subject to his criticism.

King's College.

There is but one bright spot in the intellectual gloom of the century of English domination in our State and that is the founding of King's College, now Columbia. It was founded in 1754, more than a century after Harvard, and a half a century after Yale.

No nobler names adorn the list of graduates of any educational establishment the world over than those of New York's first

college, while it was yet in its youth and before it was illumined by the sunshine of liberty and inhaled the life-giving breath of free institutions. It was the nursery of great men who were foremost in the battle for freedom, and whose names will live forever as the fathers of the Revolution. Little thought Governor De Lancey, when he wrote to the home government requesting a royal charter for the nascent institution, on the ground that it was necessary through such a seminary "to prevent the growth of republican principles which already too much prevail in the colonies," that it would have among its earliest graduates such patriots and statesmen as Philip Livingston, John Jay, Robert Livingston, Gouverneur Morris, Alexander Hamilton, De Witt Clinton and Daniel Tompkins. There were seven in the first graduating class of King's college in 1758, among them Philip Van Cortlandt. During the war of the Revolution the college buildings were occupied solely for military purposes. In 1773 a public school "to teach Latin, Greek and mathematics in the city of New York," was established under authority of an act of the General Assembly of the province, in which the Dutch element was decidedly predominant.

But like its predecessor of 1702 it soon passed away, neglected and uncared for. To quote the indignant comments of Mr. George R. Howell on the condition of the colony: "In all its years of feudal power and inherited wealth, years of control by a rich company of merchants or by royal governors who grew rich by their selfish rapacity, there were no free schools for the people, reckoning down to the close of the Revolutionary war, and all along the rich valley of the ever-trading Hudson from the sea to the Mohawk flats." And yet there was a constant craving for schools on the part of the people of the colony, and numerous and earnest were the petitions and remonstrances that went across the sea from New York asking for education for their children—petitions and remonstrances generally addressed to deaf ears.

It may be seen that during the century and a half the people of the province were under foreign domination they unremittently

strove to obtain for themselves the blessings of popular education, and their requests were met with indifference or open dislike by their rulers. The rich company of merchants who represented the Dutch government and the royal governors sent hither by the London cabinet cared little for the educational needs of their charges.

The religious body that watched over the spiritual welfare of the Dutch at Amsterdam and the self-sacrificing, zealous clergymen scattered throughout the province helped to plant the seeds of popular education, which were in time to prove so fruitful.

It must be conceded that there were equally zealous promoters of schools among the English clergymen and especially in the society which has been already alluded to. But while the Amsterdam Classis encountered only indifference from the colonial government in their labors to sow the seed of common school education, the London society met with hostility on the part of the royal governors. The conquest of New Netherland by the English, aided by the jealousy of the New England colonists, proved a fatal obstacle to the progress of the province, and it was not until after the Revolution that the rich resources and incalculable strength of the present mighty State began to be discovered.

Schools immediately after the Revolution.

Scourged and impoverished by war, it was some time before the liberated colony could spare time to turn its attention to school matters. The early schools were of the crudest kind, and the process of bringing them to the present advanced stage of improvement has been necessarily a slow and tedious one. A well-known writer thus pictures the common school in this State at the beginning of the present century: "The schoolhouses, if any, were usually located in one of the most God-forsaken spots that could be found, where white beans and buckwheat would not grow; on some bleak hill or in some arid or swampy place, surrounded by the drifting snows of winter or the sands and miasma of summer. If in a city, the location selected must be in some by-place, where the land was cheapest, where business

was dullest and dirtiest, where the best families would not be disturbed by the sight of the uncouth garb and uncultivated noise of free-school children. The rooms and surroundings were lacking in every element of health, comfort and decency. Temperature uneven, ventilation entirely disregarded, light bad for eyes, seats and desks bad for bones, muscles and lungs — everything was provocative of weariness, disease, mischief, dullness and bad morals." The schoolmaster of that day would have scouted the idea of governing his juvenile charges by kindness and affection rather than by ferule and scourge. He believed rather in making the children fear and hate him, and seldom relaxed the severity, and one might say brutality, of his system of imparting instruction. Deeply impressed with the unnaturalness of his position towards the young, the schoolmaster looked around constantly and eagerly for a means of escape from what he considered a prison, and almost any other vocation that offered itself was embraced without hesitation. Those schoolmasters might offer as an excuse for their indifference that the compensation for their services was scarcely sufficient to keep soul and body together, as one of the craft naively confessed: "'Tis little they pays me and little I teaches 'em." The schoolmaster "boarded around" in the country district which was the scene of his labors, and was looked down upon by the community generally as a sort of necessary pauper.

The educational attainments of this class of teachers were not by any means extensive. Even so far as the "three R's" were concerned, the post-revolution schoolmaster was but little advanced.

If he could write any kind of semi-legible scrawl, conduct his pupils safely through what would now be called the "Second Reader," and teach the simplest sums in arithmetic, he considered such acquirements as sufficient for his profession. The rude, uncouth schoolhouse, destitute of all the appliances of modern education, and the correspondingly rude, uncouth schoolmaster, whose code or stock in trade was the rod, and whose nightly rest was in the "spare bed" in a farm-house, where no

one but he and the itinerant preacher would be lodged, were the rule, not the exception, in the past.

The schoolmaster was looked upon by the children under his charge pretty much as the Czar is regarded by the Nihilist, and many and grievous were the torments he endured at times at the hands of the young savages around him. In those days there was no State supervision of education and no State aid, no normal schools, no teachers' institutes, no training classes for teachers, no uniform examinations to determine qualifications and keep teachers up to the desired standard, no well-equipped corps of conductors and supervisors going the rounds of the districts and imparting cheer, instruction and encouragement, no completely organized establishment at Albany watching with sedulous care over the myriad schools of the State, to whose every order and instruction they instantly respond, no faithful lieutenants promulgating and enforcing the frequent bulletins from the State headquarters. It is a sad fact that in those days the teacher was not unfrequently one who had proved to be either physically or mentally unfitted for other employment. He was a sort of pariah in the community, ill compensated, abused, suffering, groping his way to knowledge along a rugged, forbidden path, and he considered it exceptional good luck to be able to find some egress from the "Slough of Despond" of teaching to the table-land of prosperity and fame in some other line of business. The history of the common school in those early days of the commonwealth is like that of the pioneer in the primeval woods.

The stagnation of educational interests for many years after the Revolutionary war was, perhaps, natural under the circumstances.

Seven years of business paralysis and the terrorism of foreign domination, made more oppressive and insufferable as the struggle for independence went on, drove thoughts of school and teachers out of the minds of the people. Even when they came to consider the necessity of providing their children with mental food, and had recovered from the effects of war, chaos and dis-

sension, they were too much occupied in money-making and mercantile pursuits to spare any time for schools. The rich gave more attention to acquiring and hoarding wealth than to learning, except it could be turned to business account, and the poor had no time or money for the education of their children. It was the result of combined intelligent action, liberal, practical legislation and skillful, far-seeing management that brought education out of the mire of unappreciation, and long and weary were the years before the common school emerged from its impuberal condition. The pioneers of education in the infancy of this State could tell many a touching story of hardship and vicissitudes. The early country schoolhouse was a log structure, built by notching logs together at the end for walls, and by framing together long poles for rafters, across which were placed other poles to support the covering made from the bark of trees. The floors were made of planks, split out of forest trees with beetle and wedge. Heat in winter was obtained from fireplaces made by cutting holes seven or eight feet square into one side of the building, and lining them in with common stone. The chimney which served the purpose of conveying out the smoke, as well as a ventilator, was made of mortar and sticks (called a "stick chimney"), and was plastered on the inside with a mixture of clay and chopped straw, the straw serving the purpose that hair does now-a-days of holding the mortar together. The cracks between the logs were filled with chinks of wood and covered with mortar. As to the kind of doors and windows with which these structures were provided, history does not state, but it is presumed they had something of the sort to keep out the cold and wild animals. Certain it is they had no stained glass windows or paneled and varnished doors. The school furniture, too, was exceedingly rude compared with that in use at the present time. The writing desks were made by boring holes in the sides of the house, into which were driven large wooden pins upon which boards were fastened, so that the pupil when writing faced the wall. Seats were made of slabs, with the soft side upward, supported by wooden pins.

Such is a brief description of the primitive temples of learning in which some of the pioneer inhabitants received their "schooling." The entire course of instruction embraced only spelling, reading, writing and common arithmetic; and the mathematical ambition of many of the pupils was satisfied when they could "cipher" to the end of "single rule of three." Few teachers had any knowledge of grammar, while geography was not thought of. Goose-quill pens were the only kind known, and the "master" was necessarily an artist in penmaking. "Copies" had to be set, and big and little pupils wrote after the same models. Blackboards were not known, and the "master" had no appliances to simplify or make plain intricate problems and took no pains to smooth the ruggedness of the path of instruction. Still, it can not be denied that many of the boys and girls of those days, even under such adverse conditions, have risen to prominent positions in the affairs of our country, and have become successful and good citizens.

Even up to a period within the recollection of the writer the country school was a most forbidding temple of learning. Imagine the outward appearance of a dilapidated and neglected one-story frame house, perched upon the top of a hill overlooking a desolate valley through which a small creek winds among the alders. The site is scanty, treeless and unfenced. The outer walls were once painted as a few of the remaining clapboards dimly indicate. Within is a single room, which is entered by a latchless door opening directly upon the wide universe. Scant specimens of the original plaster remain in little patches here and there. Around the wall extends a board seat on which the pupils sit, all facing a common center—the stove and the schoolmaster. In front of the pupils stands a row of high desks, which are ornamented in fantastic style of carving with jack knives. Here the pupils sit, usually with one eye on the teacher most of the time, studying their lessons during the winter months, warmed by the heat of a stove which is elevated upon a box of brick and sand some six or eight inches above the level of the floor in the middle of the room. Many of them needed no warming except that which the teacher imparted with the

switch or ferule. The brick platform upon which the stove rested served sometimes as a means of punishment for unruly and idle pupils. They were required to sit upon the floor and place their heels upon the elevation, in which position the fear of the teacher's hickory rule, which was always near at hand, would keep them until the tension of their muscles became torture. At this period modes of punishment were in vogue that would not be tolerated anywhere now within the pale of a civilized community. In those days there were no regular or adopted textbooks. There being no King in Israel, each child was a judge unto himself, and studied whatever his home library afforded, and books were indeed luxuries at that time. In those days no maps adorned the walls of the school-room, and the nearest globe was in New York city or Boston. Philosophical apparatus had never been heard of by the pupils, and there were no appliances beyond a tiny blackboard, which never knew the touch of such delicate crayons as we now use and think so little of. Big chunks of chalk were used, with no idea that anything more convenient would be devised. Slate pencils were scarce; when such articles were wanted, boys hid themselves to the creek near by and dug for soapstone, which they soon whittled into shape. As for lead pencils, there were none, but leaden plummets were seen, cut out of the native metal, with holes at the end, through which strings were passed for hanging upon the neck. Teachers were frequently changed, the same one seldom remaining longer than four months. Their salaries generally included the opportunity of feasting on the very best the larders of the district afforded, which was good, considering the fact that most of the patrons deferred "hog killing" until just before the advent of the teacher to board. Teachers usually had the privilege of wasting their energies and most of their animal heat in thawing out the bed in the "spare room," where fire was never kindled.

The Dawn of the Present System.

It was Governor George Clinton, the first Governor of the State of New York, who laid the foundations of the present system of common schools, and strong and enduring they have

proved themselves to be. A gallant soldier, true patriot and far-seeing statesman; no sooner did he sheathe his sword after the establishment of peace and free government, than he addressed the Legislature in unmistakable terms on one of the most important duties of the lawmakers.

"Neglect of the education of youth is one of the evils consequent upon war," he declared, and in his subsequent public addresses and papers he emphasized his desire for public schools for all the people. When the Legislature of 1795 convened for the first time, Governor Clinton made the following important recommendation towards the establishment of common schools: "While it is evident that the general establishment and liberal endowment of academies are to be highly commended, and are attended with the most beneficial consequences, yet it can not be denied that they are principally confined to the children of the opulent, and that a great portion of the community is excluded from their immediate advantages. The establishment of common schools throughout the State is happily calculated to remedy this inconvenience, and will, therefore, engage your early and decided consideration." Here was the first ray of sunshine and encouragement on the bramble-covered path on which legislators feared to trust their feet. Before the establishment of the common schools as are now known, there were colleges and academies, nurseries for the minds of the children of those blessed with worldly wealth.

In 1784 there was an act of the Legislature incorporating the Regents of the University, and placing them in charge of the existing educational institutions. Five years later the Legislature made a step forward towards popular education by the passage of an act setting aside in each township two lots of the public lands for gospel and school purposes. Then followed years of hard struggle, conscientious, stout-hearted endeavor of the few against the many, desperate fighting for a principle which few then understood, and vicissitudes of fortune of the most extreme kind. Eager, as undoubtedly all were in the infancy of the State for promoting the cause of education, there

was a wide diversity of views on the question, and in this clash of opinion education grievously suffered. Governor after Governor called the attention of the Legislature to the importance, the necessity, of a system of common school education, such as would be adequate to the requirements of the masses of the people of the State. The Legislature was slow to respond to those frequent and passionate appeals. It was a long and wearisome journey from the appeal of Governor Clinton for free schools to the free school triumph of the present day.

It is now 109 years since the Regents of the University were incorporated by the act of the Legislature. Although they were not established for common school interests, but rather as a board of trustees for the college, the only relic of English care for education, and for the purpose of organizing other institutions of higher education, the Board of Regents soon realized the fact that higher education was unattainable without some provision for elementary schools. The prevailing idea at the time was that the State should not be responsible for such schools, but should confine its efforts to colleges, seminaries and academies. King's College, rechristened Columbia, was the nucleus of the new regime for the promotion of education and constituted the university over which the Regents were supervisors. The Regents, in 1793, united in a strong plea to the Legislature in favor of extending the blessings of education to the masses. They recounted in eloquent terms the benefits which would infallibly follow "the institution of schools in various parts of the State for the purpose of instructing children in the lower branches of education." To the honor of the members of the first board it must be said that they were zealous, far sighted, wise and practical in their views on education, and were not wholly given up to impracticable fads and personal hobbies like some of their successors.

Governor Clinton was not daunted by the apparent indifference of the Legislature to his recommendations for popular education. He repeatedly called the attention of the lawmakers to the subject, each time in stronger terms. The idea had taken deep root in his mind, and he was not to be baffled by disappointments, fre-

quent though they might be. The average legislator of that day was like a good many of the same ilk at the present time, averse to progressiveness in educational matters. He readily acknowledged the utility and even the necessity of education for the young, and theoretically was prepared to second any suggestion in that direction. But when he was called upon to give practical effect to his theories he shrank from the test as a snail into its shell. He seemed to resent any attempt to force such a line of conduct upon him that would make him consistent in his opinions on public instruction. Therefore the Legislature paid no attention to the importunities of the Regents beyond a few aimless grants of no permanent benefit or practical value.

Laying the Foundation.

The patriotic Governor's unremitting appeals at last touched a responsive chord in the legislative breast, and in 1795 a committee was appointed to take into consideration the Governor's recommendation. The committee reported a month later a bill under the title of "An act for the encouragement of schools," which act became a law. This act made an annual appropriation of \$50,000 for five years, apportioned at first to the several counties according to their representation in the Legislature, and later according to the number of Assemblymen; to the towns according to taxable population, and to the school districts according to the number of days' instruction. The amount advanced by the State was further supplemented by half as much raised by tax in the various counties and applied to the same purpose. Commissioners and trustees were chosen by the electors in their respective districts, and provisions were made for the establishment of schools throughout the State on a sound basis, and for annual reports to the Governor and the Legislature. The system at once evinced rare powers of development and strength, so that even from the crude, incomplete official report for 1798, the only one attempted during the five years, it was shown that in sixteen out of the twenty-three counties of the State there were 1,352 schools and 59,660 pupils, a remarkable showing for the first attempt to organize common schools. The appropriation, small as it may appear in comparison with the

munificent sums now spent by the State on its schools, was exceedingly liberal for the time. The precedent established was of incalculable benefit, and served to bring about the present system and its magnificent development. It was a most courageous step for the Legislature of 1795 to take.

The State was poor, its resources undeveloped, its people struggling for a living, its future to a great extent undefined. Yet there was no halt, no stay, when it came to the question of education. The great heart of the people of the Empire State never yet failed to beat responsive to every demand for common schools. It was this steadfastness on the part of our people that in the struggle for education made hard things easy and dark things bright, and threw an invisible shield around the advocates of common schools which rendered them proof against the weapons of legislative hostility. The five years' appropriation made by the act of 1795 expired with the beginning of the nineteenth century, and the Legislature for a long time seemed impervious to all arguments and pleas for its renewal. Governor Jay's eloquent remonstrances were of no effect. Fortunately a man for the crisis was found, a plain, unlettered farmer from Otsego, Jedediah Peck, who boldly entered the field and never relaxed his exertions for a liberal school fund and for our common school system until he forced the Legislature into a realization of its duties. He had a capable assistant in the good work in Adam Comstock, of Saratoga.

The first step made by the Legislature towards creating a State fund for the support of common schools was a peculiar one to our way of thinking to-day, but the only one that probably could be taken at the time with any prospect of success. It was to raise by means of lotteries the sum of \$100,000, of which \$12,500 were to be given to the Regents for academy purposes, and the rest for the common schools. For twenty years these peculiar methods of establishing ways and means for educational purposes lasted. They were called literature lotteries, and only went out of date in 1821, when the Legislature abolished lotteries of all kinds. The money realized from this source was intrusted to the comptroller, with directions to invest it in real estate, so that in due

Schools sprang up as if by magic in every part of the State, and the foundations of a noble, colossal temple of education were laid never to be disturbed. School districts were doubled, the attendance grew from 140,000 to 304,000, comprising nineteen-twentieths of those of school age in the State. The management of the school funds was brought to a degree of perfection such as would have been considered unattainable a few years previously, and the school machinery was so far advanced in working operation that it was possible for a single individual to control it. The Superintendent was indefatigable in his great work, and the fertility of his inventiveness in devising new means to develop the fast growing system and to overcome obstacles seemed inexhaustible. The boundless variety of interests which were presented to his attention and supervision was only matched by the grandeur of the results he brought about. And for these inestimable services Mr. Hawley received the beggarly pittance of \$300 a year, and his removal from office on political grounds when he was at the most important period of his work. The indignation which followed his removal caused the Legislature to legislate his successor out of office by the passage of an act making the Secretary of State ex-officio Superintendent of Common Schools. A notable feature of Mr. Hawley's administration was the introduction of the Lancasterian system of education into the schools. Its main principle was that of mutual instruction as far as possible among the pupils themselves under the charge and by the aid of older instructors. The school was divided into classes, and each class into pairs of pupils each acting alternately as the instructor of the other. The progress of educational science has long since relegated this system to the shades of obscurity, but it was considered very successful in its time.

Schools under the Administration of the Secretary of State.

In 1821, when the Legislature transferred the duties of the Superintendent to the State department, John Van Ness Yates was Secretary of State. He was eminently fitted for such a responsible task, and aided by the wise, statesmanlike, unflinching Governor, whose services in the cause of education alone

mended, and some sensible advice given as to the inadequacy of academies, colleges and universities towards popular education.

The most essential points of the present system were mapped out, and practical suggestions made as to the raising of sufficient funds for the framing of an educational plan which should directly affect every citizen in the State. The report transmitted to the Legislature in 1812 was one of the most important and effective documents to be found in our public papers, for it placed on a practical basis that which had been hitherto in a chaotic shape. A State Superintendent of Public Instruction was the first result of the organized system.

The First State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

It was exceptionally fortunate for the cause of education that such a man as Gideon Hawley, of Albany, should have been selected as the first director of the new system. He was marvellously well equipped for the work, and to him above all others are the common schools of the State indebted for their present commanding position. Had he failed at such a crisis, the experiment would have failed with him. Had he not demonstrated the illimitable possibilities of the system, and convinced the Legislature that it only depended upon the wise and liberal policy of that body to make it permanent and worthy of the State, there would have been no more legislation on the subject. The Legislature had already shown considerable reluctance to give aid and encouragement to the schools, and it required but little cause to induce it to drop the subject forever. Mr. Hawley had absolutely to create everything. Chaos and complete disorganization greeted him when he undertook the duties of his office. There was no system, no assistance from experienced, trained commissioners, no well-considered, harmonious methods of conducting schools on any definite plan. Yet, during the eight years of his administration, Mr. Hawley succeeded in building up a structure of education, lasting, impregnable and capable of endless development.

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would make the name of DeWitt Clinton forever illustrious, he carried forward the work begun by Mr. Hawley to a very advanced stage. The State convention of 1821 made the constitutional provision that the proceeds of all State lands to be thereafter sold, excepting only those for public use, or ceded to the general government, together with the existing school fund, should constitute a perpetual fund, the interest to be devoted to the support of the common schools. Governor Clinton next called the attention of the Legislature to the advisability of providing a seminary for the education of teachers, a suggestion which was carried out some years later.

Secretary of State Azariah C. Flagg, who succeeded to the administration of the common school system in 1826, made the first approach towards a system of visitorial inspection of the schools. His practical views on the school question were conspicuously shown by his declaration to the Legislature that the course of instruction in the common schools ought to be adapted to the business of life and to the actual duties which may devolve upon the person instructed. He opposed with characteristic vigor the proposition to designate a particular series of text books, to the exclusion of all others, on the sound principle that the adoption of a particular book would amount to a prohibition upon all improvements. The text-book question has been a disturbing factor in the schools up to the present time.

It was at this period that religious controversies in respect to the distribution of school moneys interfered to some extent with the progress of the schools, but they only served to bring about the exclusive consecration of the common school funds to the legitimate purposes of public education.

General Dix was the next Secretary of State who had charge of the interests of the common schools, and during his administration a bill was presented to the Legislature establishing a Department of Public Instruction, and a Superintendent to be appointed by the Legislature every three years. No action was taken on the bill, and the present Department had to wait for many years before it received legislative sanction for its organiza-

tion. The school district library was one of the fruits of General Dix's administration. About that time the United States Deposit Fund came in as an important factor for the support of the schools of the State. In 1836 Congress passed an act authorizing the deposit of the surplus in the United States treasury with the various States. New York's share was about \$4,000,000. Governor Marcy recommended that a portion of the income from this fund should be devoted to the support of common schools. The Legislature accordingly added \$160,000 from the revenue of the fund to the amount already appropriated for the support of the schools.

John C. Spencer was the next Secretary of State who undertook the charge of the schools, and to his exceptional abilities, skill, earnestness and comprehensive grasp of the subject of education may be traced the successful reconstruction of the State system of public instruction, the initiation of the policy of county supervision and the marked advancement of the schools. The attendance at the common schools increased to nearly 600,000 during his administration, and the amount expended for all purposes in the support of the schools reached about \$2,000,000. Rev. Dr. Potter, of Union College was the first to suggest the establishment of a normal school, on somewhat the same basis as those of Prussia and France, but with far more liberal provisions. The idea of the normal school, however, seemed premature. Superintendent Spencer considered it more advisable to spend the money which would be necessary to establish a normal school in encouraging all the academies of the State to establish teachers' departments. He thought that normal schools would be serviceable only in the counties where there were no academies.

The advance made by the public schools up to this period was a favorable indication of what the future might bring forth. Superintendent Spencer observed on this subject: "In 1815 returns were received from 2,631 districts, in which there were 140,706 children instructed. In 1840, 10,397 districts sent in their reports, showing that 572,995 children had attended their schools. In 1815, \$46,398 were paid from the treasury toward

defraying the compensation of teachers, and in 1840 \$220,000 were paid from the same source for the same purpose." Such were the most important results of the first quarter of a century after Gideon Hawley laid the foundations of the system of public instruction. About this time the office of county superintendent of common schools was created. The purpose of this feature of educational supervision was a most laudable one, but the office became exceedingly unpopular, owing to the injudicious selection in many instances of the incumbents by boards of supervisors. Politics had much to do with the appointments of such county officials, and they only received an annual salary of \$500, which was insufficient to insure their attention to their duties. The idea was calculated to help the progress of the schools very much had it been developed and put in proper, practical form. There was an outcry, however, against the abuses of those county superintendents, and after six years' trial the office was abolished. During Superintendent Spencer's administration the last of the great religious controversies over the schools in the city of New York took place. It was a long, bitter contest, and ended with the positive and unchangeable decree of no sectarianism on the part of the State.

Rapid Advancement.

Under the succeeding Superintendent and Secretary of State, Colonel Samuel Young, of Saratoga, the most important educational convention ever held in the State met at Utica. Such famous men as Horace Mann, George B. Emerson, Francis Dwight, Dr. Gallaudet, Judge Hammond, Salem Town and Dr. Horace Webster took part in the proceedings of this convention. One of the fruits of the convention was the establishment of the first normal school of the State at Albany. The bill passed the Legislature in 1844. The sum of \$9,600 was appropriated from the literature fund for the establishment and support of the normal school under the direction of the Superintendent of Common Schools and the Regents. The annual appropriation was made \$10,000, and, as the act was regarded as experimental, the term

was limited to five years. A subsequent act made the school a permanent institution. Its management was first entrusted to a committee of five, consisting of Superintendent Young, Gideon Hawley, Dr. Alonzo Potter, Dr. Wm. H. Campbell and Francis Dwight. Another innovation, pregnant with great results to the common school system, was the teachers' institute. The first one was opened at Ithaca in 1843, and the success of the initial effort led to the opening of other institutes, to which Superintendent Young gave the most unqualified encouragement. In a few years a vast impulse had been given to the system, and when Colonel Young retired from the office at the close of 1844, he had good reason to feel proud of the success he had accomplished.

After him came Judge Nathaniel S. Benton, of Herkimer, as Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools. Under his administration was struck for the first time the keynote of the memorable struggle for free schools, which ended only with the recognition and adoption of the principle of "Universal education in public schools, free to all." During his term of office the first State convention of teachers assembled at Syracuse, and the Legislature abolished the office of county superintendent. County supervision was restored some years later.

Secretary and Superintendent Christopher Morgan, who undertook the care of the schools in 1848, had the good fortune to aid in bringing about the passage of the act establishing free schools throughout the State. An attempt to repeal this act a short time after failed at the general election. This grand triumph of free schools was followed by the establishment of the free school fund, by the levying of a school tax. The sum of \$800,000 was at first levied annually, and this amount was thus raised until five years later when the Legislature substituted therefor a tax of three-fourths of a mill on each dollar of valuation. It was not until the vexatious rate bill was abolished that the free school system reached its fullest stage of development.

The next Superintendent and Secretary of State, Henry S. Randall, had, in addition to a natural aptitude for the duties of

the former position, extensive experience as county superintendent. It was mainly through his unremitting labors that the change was made by the Legislature of a mill tax on the property of the State instead of a fixed sum for the support of the schools, and that the office of Superintendent of Schools was separated from that of Secretary of State.

His successor, Elias W. Leavenworth, elected Secretary of State in 1853, was Superintendent of Schools for a few months only, for at the earnest advice of Governor Seymour, the Legislature passed an act creating a separate Department of Public Instruction.

The Rate Bill System.

It took a great many years to do away with the mistaken idea that parents and guardians should contribute individually towards the support of the common school system. It was a long and bitter struggle to combat this erroneous notion and to bring about absolutely free schools. The poor were the principal sufferers, of course, through the rate bill system. Yet it was only after years of contest that the State, through its Legislature and conventions, came to an adequate understanding of the principle of absolutely free schools. The question was resubmitted again and again, in spite of the manifestly powerful popular demand, and it was only in 1867 that the odious rate bill system was finally dropped, without chance of resurrection. In the cities of the State the rate bill system became obsolete long before its final abolition by legislative enactment, for they contrived to get special acts looking towards a separate school system, self-supporting, without rate bill assistance.

The inadequacy of the annual amount appropriated by the Legislature for the support of the schools and of the amount raised by tax caused the rate levy made on parents to supply the deficiency. They were called upon to pay for the instruction of their children in proportion to the number of days' attendance on school. The average annual amount raised by rate bills for the payment of teachers' salaries over and above the public money for twenty years was over \$450,000. It was a most trouble-

some and vexatious system, practically withholding the money due to the teachers and encouraging absence and truancy. The trustees, if the public money was not sufficient to pay the teachers' wages, proceeded to make out a rate bill for the residue, charging each parent or guardian according to the number of days' attendance of his children, indigent persons being exempted. Thirty days were allowed for collection of the rates. Should there be any neglect on the part of parent or guardian to pay within that period, thirty days more were allowed the district collector to collect the amount on the rate bill. The unfortunate teacher was thus deprived of a large proportion of his well-earned wages for two months after they became due. Any slight error in the apportionment of the rates, or in the legal form for making it, subjected the trustees to a suit, by any one of whom a few cents might have been illegally collected. The \$800,000 tax imposed by the Legislature of 1851 failed to reduce materially the burdens of the rate bills. In the majority of the districts no exemptions were made on account of indigence, the trustees refusing the exemptions, or the parents declining to avail themselves of the provisions of the law, through the natural disinclination to be regarded as paupers. Thousands of children were consequently kept out of school owing to the inability of the parents to pay for their tuition. Yet the rate bill system, with all its faults, had sturdy, hard-fighting advocates who kept it for years as a feature of the common school system, in spite of the widespread, popular dislike to it.

The Public School Society of the City of New York.

A vital element in the progress of the common school system up to the permanent establishment of the Department of Public Instruction of the State of New York was the "Public School Society of the City of New York," reorganized from the old "Free School Society" in 1826. This admirable organization was for nearly half a century a pioneer in the thorny path of education. It kept alive and encouraged the principle of free schools in the metropolis under circumstances of exceeding dis-

couragement, and fought down sectarianism and narrow-mindedness after many a gallant contest. When the society in 1853 handed over to the city its management of the free education of the city it had accomplished a great work, the fruits of which are enjoyed at the present day. There never was a charge that one dollar of the millions which passed through the hands of the society was misappropriated, and over 1,000 trained teachers and 600,000 school children testified to its excellent supervision. The fame of its first president, DeWitt Clinton, would be sufficient to stamp indelibly the character of the society. From 1805, as the "Free School Society of the City of New York," until as the "Public Society" it finally disappeared in 1853, the history of the organization was that of zealous, conscientious work and grand results. That history is illumined by the illustrious names of DeWitt Clinton, Peter Jay, Lindley Murray, Peter Cooper, Stephen Allen, Joseph Grinnell, Isaac Collins, Frederick De Peyster, Robert C. Cornell, Samuel Wood, George T. Trimble, Samuel W. Seton, Shepard Knapp and Joseph Hoxie. The Board of Education in New York succeeded the Public School Society, with the widely esteemed S. S. Randall as the first superintendent. Previous to this time there were city superintendents in Rochester, Buffalo, Hudson, Poughkeepsie, Schenectady, Albany, Brooklyn, Oswego, Auburn, Syracuse, Troy and Utica.

The Department of Public Instruction.

In 1854 Victor M. Rice, who had been in charge of the public schools of Buffalo for many years, and who had there won name and fame, was elected on joint ballot of the Legislature Superintendent of Public Instruction. He had been brought up in an arduous and exacting school—the superintendence of the cause of education in one of the most progressive cities of the State.

Experienced, tactful, popular and widely known, Mr. Rice was an ideal Superintendent. He had, during his first administration, the valuable services of Mr. S. S. Randall, as deputy. At the organization of the new State Department of Public Instruction there were 11,798 school districts in the State, and 877,201 chil-

dren were under instruction in the common schools. The abolition of the offices of town superintendent and inspector in 1856 led to the election of school commissioners in the manner provided by the Legislature.

Henry H. VanDyck, of Albany, was the next Superintendent, and when he became bank superintendent, his deputy, Emerson W. Keyes, assumed the management of the Department of Public Instruction.

Then came the final and conclusive triumph of the free school system, under the second administration of Mr. Rice. This stout-hearted, unflinching champion of the schools never faltered or hesitated until he accomplished the great object of his life — the abolition of the rate-bill injustice. He met with the most formidable opposition, but it only tended to rouse him the more, and he fairly laid siege to the Legislature with irresistible arguments and energetic appeals until that adamant body at last crumbled beneath the thunder of his eloquence. In 1867 the rate-bill system ceased to exist, and a new and powerful impetus was given to the common schools. During Mr. Rice's administration additional normal schools were established; teachers' institutes were multiplied; training classes in the academies increased at a most prolific rate, and the free scholarships at Cornell University first attracted young students, becoming, as Mr. Rice expressed it, "the very cream of our public school system."

The next Superintendent, Abram B. Weaver, was a worthy successor of the distinguished Rice. During his two terms of six years the common school system advanced with mighty strides, aided to no small degree by his clear-headed, business-like, skillful management.

His practical views on education may be gleaned from the following extract from one of his annual reports: "Unsound scholarship, decorated with ornamental drapery of superficial learning, in mockery of education, is a sham that deserves to be disrobed. Advanced study is not to be despised, when well grounded. But the first and broad necessity is to furnish the best possible instruction in the common schools, where the masses of

the people receive their only tuition, and in the common branches which all men and women need to understand." Sound, unanswerable argument, this, and especially applicable to our times when men masquerade in the garb of professors, and seek to divert school moneys from their proper channel into irrigating fancy educational gardens of their own, kept for the benefit of a favored few.

From Acorn to Oak.

The growth of the Department of Public Instruction, and of the multitudinous interests intrusted to its care, has gone on steadily and successfully since Mr. Weaver's retirement, under Superintendents Neil Gilmour, William B. Ruggles, James E. Morrison, Andrew S. Draper and James F. Crooker. Thirty-nine years have elapsed since the Legislature created the Department on a solid, enduring basis—thirty-nine years of steady, substantial progress. It is the growth of the acorn to the oak. It started out with the substitution of a levy of three-fourths of a mill upon every dollar of the valuation on real and personal property, as a substitute for the \$800,000 State tax. In 1856 came a notable change in the creation of the office of school commissioner and the abolition of that of town superintendent. Then the supervisors were authorized to receive and pay out the school moneys as apportioned by the school commissioners to the several districts. In 1864 the general school law was revised, and two years later school districts were authorized by law to take land for sites by eminent domain. The normal schools have been increased to eleven in number, soon to reach the round dozen, the original institution being known at present as the State Normal College. Teachers' institutes have exhibited wonderful progress, and are now regarded as strong pillars of our educational system. Training classes have increased in number and efficiency, until it is feasible for any district to have good teachers, well grounded in all the requirements of their profession.

The influence of the Department is felt in every part of the State, and through its systematic work and conscientious care, education, the mind's evening light, after the working hours of

the day, shines on thousands of humble homes. The growth of the common school system from a partial and humble provision to the present comprehensive proportions which embraces every locality and every class, its wise and liberal management, its unquestioned fairness and impartiality, and its elasticity and adaptability to the increasing needs of the State, may be justly regarded as the most magnificent exhibit New York can make in the eyes of the civilized world. It has been well said that education is the corner-stone of a free government and that without it a nation must necessarily retrograde. Our State has given practical evidence of how much it realizes the force of such a truth. The eighty years which divide the present period from the time when the young Albany lawyer, Gideon Hawley, laid the foundation stone of the common school system of the State of New York, are replete with instances and examples of high purpose, unselfish devotion, uncomplaining perseverance, unappreciated labor. All the noble pillars which support the stately edifice of our common school system were constructed and erected with exceeding toil and patience. There were obstacles against the carrying out of the work which required no common fortitude and heroism to overcome. Never did the glorious motto of our State, "Excelsior," shine with such resplendent lustre as on the upward journey of the educator from the slough of despond to the broad table-land of a grand, well-organized State system. It is an inspiring view, that on which we look back, the various heights which have been scaled by the noble men who have carried the banner of "Excelsior" up from the valley to this table-land. Full of great events, rapidly succeeding each other, were those four score years of upward toiling, educational questions constantly coming together like the streams of people in a huge city, swelling the crowd from every side and swaying it to and fro. But we must not linger over the view nor sit down in idle meditation on this fair hill. There are heights yet to be climbed, other victories to win, brighter crowns to be gained. The course of the New York common school system is upward and onward, each decade marking many a league in advance.

Vigor, determination, consistency, solidity, venturous aspiration have carried the banner thus far; the same qualities will not be lacking for the rest of the journey.

Female Teachers.

In the report of Mr. John C. Spencer, from the literature committee of the Senate, transmitted to that body, on February 4, 1826, the first intimation was made of the importance of giving substantial State encouragement to seminaries for the education of females in the higher branches of knowledge, and thus preparing the way for the grand army of female teachers to whom are intrusted the chiefest duties of our common school system. It was many years after when the suggestions of Mr. Spencer were carried into effect. In the memorable convention of county superintendents in 1842, the more general employment of female teachers in the schools was earnestly urged. Two years after Assemblyman Hulburd, of St. Lawrence, submitted to the Legislature an elaborate report on the subject of normal schools, in which he thus spoke of the value of competent and well-qualified female teachers in the great work of education: "It is not the result of gallantry, or of that complaisant homage which in every refined and Christian nation is the accorded due of the female sex, that has given to that sex an unequivocal preference in teaching and controlling the young. It is not superior science, but superior skill in the use of that science—it is the manner and very weakness of the teacher that constitutes her strength and assures her success. For this occupation she is endued with peculiar faculties. In childhood the intellectual faculties are but partially developed—the affections much more fully. At that early age the affections are the key of the whole being. The female teacher readily possesses herself of that key, and thus having access to the heart, the mind is soon reached and operated upon." In 1861 Superintendent VanDyck remarked in his report: "The reports clearly indicate that, so far as our common schools are concerned, the business of teaching is rapidly passing into the hands of females. It is my opinion that in most of our

district schools the presence of a well-qualified female teacher will eventuate in the moral and intellectual advantage of the pupils beyond that which they would attain under the auspices of a majority of the teachers of the sterner sex." In 1864 Superintendent Rice announced that nearly eight-tenths of the whole number of teachers employed in the State were females. "It is impossible," he continued, "to overestimate the value of the influence thus brought to bear upon the daily developing mind and character in our schools. To teach and train the young seems to be one of the chief missions of woman. Herself high-minded, the minds of those with whom she comes in daily contact unconsciously aspire. Gentle herself, she renders them gentle. Pure herself, she renders them pure. The fire which truly refines the ore of character can only be kindled by her hand." Of the 32,161 teachers in the common schools of the State to-day, 26,869 are females.

Supervision of the Schools.

The system of supervision over the common schools is admirably adapted to produce harmonious and efficient work. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction is the controller and regulator of the entire system, supervising all the schools, formulating regulations for their management, discipline and course of instruction, and deciding all controversies which may arise under their administration. He is elected by the joint-ballot of both houses of the Legislature, his term of office being for three years. All the school moneys from the various funds are apportioned by him, and he exacts a rigid accountability from all the other officials intrusted with the care of the proper distribution of such moneys.

He is ex-officio a trustee of Cornell University and a Regent of the University of the State of New York. He supervises every detail of management of the eleven normal schools of the State, provides for the instruction of Indian children, appoints State pupils to the institutions for the deaf and dumb and for the New York Institution for the Blind, and looks after the course

of instruction in such institutions; issues State certificates to teach, removes any school officer for willful violation or neglect of duty, submits to the Legislature an annual report of the condition of the schools and the disposition of the school moneys, and is chairman of the committee of Regents on teachers' classes in the academies. No military system of supervision even in the Napoleonic era was more complete and more readily managed by an individual head than is the Department of Public Instruction of the State of New York.

There are 114 school commissioners, elected every three years by separate ballot, and receiving each from the State a salary of \$1,000 per annum. The school commissioner visits and examines the schools in his district as often in the year as may be practicable, advises with and counsels the trustees and other school officers in relation to their duties and particularly as to the construction, heating and ventilation of school buildings; examines and licenses teachers; reports every year to the State Superintendent, and apportions the school moneys. In cities, the duties of school commissioner devolve upon city superintendents. There are 11,180 school districts in the State, excluding cities, in each of which one or three trustees, a district clerk and a collector are elected. The people of each district are authorized to vote the necessary taxes for school apparatus, text-books, library and other school requirements. The trustees are empowered to call special meetings of the inhabitants of their districts; to make out a tax-list of every district voted by a meeting; to issue a warrant to the collector of the district for collection of school moneys; to purchase, lease or build schoolhouses and keep them in repair; to employ teachers and pay them their salaries. They report to the school commissioner each year, setting forth all matters of interest connected with the schools of their districts. The town clerk of each town keeps a record of the apportionment of the school moneys among the districts, and also all other necessary records of the schools. The county treasurer receives from the State Treasurer the amount of public money apportioned to the county by the State Superintendent. He pays over

to each supervisor the share of each town, the latter disbursing it on the orders of the trustees of the several districts.

The schools of the cities of the State are controlled by boards of education, subject only to the general statutes of the State upon education. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction exercises general supervision over the city schools as well as over those in towns, in accordance with the general statutes of the State upon education. Including cities there are 11,785 school districts in the State.

The school district is the smallest territorial subdivision of the State. It is formed by the school commissioner, who makes an order defining its boundaries, and files it in the office of the town clerk of the town or towns in which it is situated. A joint district is one that lies partly in two or more counties. A neighborhood is a small subdivision whose inhabitants are permitted to send their children to a school in an adjoining State. Union free school districts are formed under the law that authorizes the inhabitants, lawfully assembled in district meeting, to organize in a district comprising more territory and inhabitants, and possessing more enlarged powers than an ordinary district.

The State School Moneys.

The common schools derive their State sustenance from three sources—the Free School Fund, the Common School Fund and the United States Deposit Fund. The first of these funds consists of the amount raised annually by tax for schools, the rate being fixed by the Legislature every year. The first State tax was a fixed sum, and was changed after five years' trial to a certain rate on each dollar of valuation. The rate at first was three-fourths of a mill, but after the abolition of the district rate bill the tax was increased to one and one-fourth mills. The Legislature at length settled upon the rate of one mill on the dollar, which, on account of the increased valuation, yielded more than the mill and a quarter in previous years. The annual appropriation from the Free School Fund for the support of the common schools is now \$3,500,000. From the same fund is also appropriated this year \$235,300 for normal schools, \$60,000 for training classes, \$30,000 for teachers' institutes, \$115,500 for school com-

missioners' salaries and \$5,200 for school registers. Thus, the total amount of appropriation this year from the Free School Fund for school purposes is \$3,946,000.

The Common School Fund is the outcome of the sale of State lands. In 1805 the Legislature passed an act providing that "the net proceeds of 500,000 acres of the vacant and unappropriated lands of the people of this State, which shall be first sold by the Surveyor-General, shall be and are hereby appropriated as a permanent fund for the support of common schools." When the annual revenues from this fund reached \$50,000, in 1815, the first distribution was made. The capital of the fund at its beginning in 1805 amounted to \$59,000. It is now \$1,348,140. The Constitution of 1846 made the capital of the fund inviolate, with a broad, unrestricted declaration that the proceeds of all lands belonging to the State should, as a part of the capital fund, be preserved inviolate. The annual appropriation to the common schools from the revenues of this fund is \$170,000. The sum of \$6,000 is annually appropriated from this fund for Indian schools.

The United States Deposit Fund originated in the distribution for safe keeping among the States of the surplus revenues in the United States treasury. This has been an inviolate deposit ever since, the capital not to be used by general or State government. The portion received by New York amounted to \$4,000,000. The Legislature apportioned this amount among the counties of the State, according to population. The apportionment to each county was placed in the hands of two loan commissioners appointed by the Governor, whose duty it was to invest it to the best possible advantage. From 1838 to 1881 the sum of \$165,000 was appropriated from this fund for the support of common schools. For the past twelve years the annual appropriation has been \$75,000, of which \$55,000 are for school libraries, and \$20,000 for supervision. Until the present year \$30,000 were appropriated from this fund for teachers' training classes.

The apportionment of the school moneys is made by the Superintendent of Public Instruction as follows: Cities and incorporated villages of not less than 5,000 population, and union free

school districts, employing a superintendent, \$800, with \$500 for each additional Member of Assembly from a city; \$4,000 for a contingent fund; Indian schools, according to number of teachers and population; \$100 for each qualified teacher, and the remainder of the school moneys, according to population.

The money appropriated by the State, large as the sum may appear, only pays about one-fifth of the expenses of the common schools, the other four-fifths being raised by local taxation. The entire amount expended during the past fiscal year for the maintenance of public educational interests directly connected with this Department was \$19,035,568.06.

Teachers' Institutes.

The first teachers' institute in this State was opened at Ithaca on April 4, 1843, under the supervision of Superintendent J. S. Denman, of Tompkins county, assisted by Salem Town, Jas. B. Thomson and Rev. David Powell. Twenty-eight teachers were in attendance, and instruction was given daily for a period of two weeks. In the fall of that year several institutes were opened in different sections of the State. In two years, in no less than seventeen of the largest counties, institutes were established, and over 1,000 teachers received instruction. They marked a new era in the history of popular education in New York. In 1847 the sum of sixty dollars was required to be annually appropriated from the income of the United States Deposit Fund for the use and benefit of each institute. There is nothing in the eventful history of the common schools in this State that shows such wonderful powers of development as the teachers' institute. It has been well termed a temporary normal school, an essential agency in the preparation of good teachers. Superintendent Rice thus explains the usefulness of such institutions: "It is a well-known fact that those who follow teaching for any considerable time are liable to become stereotyped and opinionated. These tendencies are counteracted at the institute. The more mature in years and experience are led, by a mutual interchange of opinions and sentiments, to abandon many false theories and

practices, and to adopt others whose proper application in their schools awakens their ingenuity, and enforces thought and research to which they have not before been accustomed; while the younger class of teachers acquire a certain amount of knowledge of their practical duties which they have no other opportunity to learn, and are also matured in their purpose to devote themselves zealously and cheerfully to their new vocation." During the past year 128 teachers' institutes were held, at which 17,571 teachers attended, with a total aggregate attendance of 84,986 days. The popularity of the institutes seems to be growing each year. The conductors are exceptionally able men, and they have been capably assisted by other distinguished educators. A notable feature of the institutes in late years has been the lectures with stereopticon views prepared by the American Museum of Natural History under the direction of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. There is a constant, steady advance in the usefulness of those institutes, and new features are being constantly introduced. The law requires that every school commissioner, at least once in every year, shall organize in his own district, or in concert with one or more commissioners in the same county, a teachers' institute, and to induce, if possible, all the teachers in his district to be present and take part in its exercises. The closing of a school by a teacher during the time of the institute does not vitiate the contract for teaching, or forfeit any portion of the teachers' salary. Trustees are directed to allow teachers for the time they have spent at institutes. All schools in school districts, not included within the boundaries of a city, shall be closed, while the institute in the county in which such schools are situated, is being held. The sum of \$30,000 is appropriated annually by the Legislature to pay the expenses of teachers' institutes.

Teachers' Training Classes.

The academies were the nurseries of the teachers' training classes. Governor DeWitt Clinton gave the first impetus to this indispensable branch of our common school system in his message to the Legislature in 1828. It was necessary to correct the serious

deficiency in the supply of competent teachers that existed, and to devise means by which persons should be adequately instructed and prepared for the noblest of professions. General Dix recommended liberal appropriations for that purpose from the literature fund, and the establishment of teachers' seminaries. Training classes were at an early date organized in the various academies and seminaries, and to-day they form valuable auxiliaries to the normal schools. By 1864 the system had developed so far that teachers' classes had been formed in eighty-four academies, in which, during that year, 351 male and 1,292 female pupils had been instructed in the science of teaching. During the past year 159 classes instructed 2,530 pupils, the money apportioned being \$34,386. Every institution is allowed one dollar per week for each pupil instructed for each term of not less than sixteen nor more than eighteen weeks. Not less than ten nor more than twenty-five pupils can be admitted to a class, and no institution can be allowed more than \$350 for any one term. The allowance of money depends upon the number of pupils and weeks taught. The Department of Public Instruction has unrestricted jurisdiction over the training classes in private academies and seminaries, and naturally over union schools where such classes are also held. The sum of \$60,000 was appropriated from the free school fund by the Legislature this year for the maintenance of teachers' training classes.

District School Libraries.

To General Dix we owe the creation of district school libraries. During Governor Marcy's administration an act was passed, in accordance with the recommendation of General Dix, authorizing the taxable inhabitants of the several school districts to impose a tax, not exceeding twenty dollars for the first, and ten dollars for each succeeding year, for the purchase of a district library.

General Dix, who was then Secretary of State and Superintendent of Common Schools, and who first broached the subject of district libraries, made an eloquent appeal for this admirable means of promoting education. "Common school libraries," he said, "are, in the strictest sense of the word, institutions for the

benefit of the people. They are, like the common schools, among the most effectual means of correcting, so far as human regulations can correct them, those qualities of condition which arise from superior advantages of fortune." In 1838 the Legislature appropriated from the United States Deposit Fund \$55,000 for the purchase of suitable books for the several district libraries. That appropriation has been made annually ever since, the law being amended in requiring each district to raise an amount of school library money equal to that which it receives. Through the eloquent appeals and personal exertions of Governors, State Superintendents and other public-spirited friends of education the district libraries grew in numbers and usefulness in spite of the tendency at times of trustees and other school officers to divert the money appropriated for the purpose to make up deficiencies in teachers' salaries.

"The diffusion of a million of useful books," remarked Superintendent Young, "through all the various portions of this great community, although many of them at present may fall in sterile places, can not ultimately fail to produce a rich compensating reward." Selections for the district libraries are made from the whole range of literature and science, with the exception of controversial books, political and religious history, biography, poetry; philosophy, mental, moral and natural; fiction — indeed, every department of human knowledge contributes its share. By means of this diffusive benevolence, the light of knowledge penetrates every portion of the State, and the sons of our farmers, mechanics, merchants and laborers have daily access to many well-selected books, of which, but for this sagacious policy, a majority of them would never have heard." Yet it has been an almost hopeless work to keep the district libraries from depreciating, owing to the carelessness or indifference of many local school officers. It was a blunder in the beginning on the part of the State, which was tardily remedied, to permit the library money to be used for other purposes, and for not holding those in charge of the libraries to a strict accountability for their good preservation. The law has been amended since, and now the library money must be

sacredly applied to the purchase of books. The district library system seems to have culminated in 1853, for since that period its decline has been uniform and rapid. To-day the number of volumes in these libraries is but half of that of 1853. Apart from the pernicious practice of diverting money appropriated for school libraries, their decline may have been accelerated by the diffusion of cheap literature and the marvelous growth of newspapers, many of which contain nowadays more information on certain subjects than could be found in the old text-books. The district libraries served their purpose in their day, when sources of knowledge were scarce. It may be that the law passed last year restraining the diversion of the library money, prohibiting the loaning of books and appointing teachers as librarians, will stop the decline of the libraries.

At all events the State should not expend a dollar for libraries except those connected with the common schools. Any appropriation beyond the one legitimate use of libraries is either inexcusable extravagance or catering towards personal and local ends.

Normal Schools.

The comprehensive mind of DeWitt Clinton first grasped the idea of elevating the standard of the teacher by higher qualification requirements, and with characteristic directness he pointed out to the Legislature the only practical way in which that idea could be made a reality, namely, a seminary solely for the education of teachers. The entire scheme and purpose of the normal school was distinctly shadowed forth by that eminent statesman. Although much was to be accomplished before Governor Clinton's recommendations could be carried out, the seed of profound educational statesmanship fell on fruitful soil. Shortly after his death a memorial was presented to the Legislature which embodied his views in still more direct terms, by recommending the establishment of three or more State normal schools for the education and preparation of teachers. At the State convention of county superintendents at Utica, in 1842, the subject of normal schools was exhaustively treated, and the current of public opinion ran

swiftly in that direction. But even among some of the most loyal friends of education half a century ago there were what we would now term unreasoning prejudices against normal schools. They doubted the feasibility of teaching by precept the details of school-room management, and regarded with dismay the cost of such institutions to the State. It has ever been a most difficult task to convince legislators of the necessity of providing a sufficient number of normal schools for the constantly growing educational needs of the State. The establishment of the first normal school was an experiment, and for nineteen years it was the only institution of the kind in the State. Its success convinced the Legislature that similar training schools, organized and conducted with special reference to the object in view, were the proper institutions to educate teachers for the public schools. Oswego was chosen as the home of the second normal school, and in 1866 a law was passed authorizing and directing the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of State, Attorney-General, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, to act as a commission to locate six other schools. Then there broke out a storm of opposition from the private academies, which had quickly discovered that their influence and emoluments were decreased by the new rivals. Efforts were made to cripple the normal schools, and lobbying in the Legislature was freely resorted to for that purpose. It has been justly said that many bitter controversies of this kind have resulted from the bad policy of the State that not only tolerates, but partially supports, two conflicting systems of education. If all the schools of every grade, which the State to any extent supports, were associated in one homogeneous system, and the appropriations of the State confined to that system, there would be no ground for conflict. The normal schools have long outgrown envy and prejudice, and are now immovably fixed in the confidence and affection of the people. There are at present eleven normal schools, and the law passed during the last session of the Legislature will add another to the list. It will be built at Jamaica, Queens county.

ALBANY.

The Albany Normal School was organized under an executive board, consisting of the following distinguished educators: Superintendent of Common Schools Samuel Young, Rev. Dr. Alonzo Porter, Rev. Dr. William H. Campbell, Gideon Hawley and Francis Dwight. The faculty, at the opening of the school on December 18, 1844, was as follows: David P. Page, principal; George R. Perkins, professor of mathematics; Frederick I. Hsley, teacher of music; J. B. Howard, teacher of drawing; Merritt G. McKoon, professor of natural sciences. The school opened with twenty-nine pupils, but in a short time there were nearly 100 in attendance. The wisdom of the action of the State in putting the normal school idea in practical shape was soon apparent in the tone, strength and vigor given to the schools by distributing throughout the State teachers who were thoroughly instructed. In the first three years of the Albany Normal School, 421 of its pupils were employed as teachers. This was sufficient encouragement for the Legislature to effect the permanent establishment of the school on a more liberal basis. It successfully passed the period of probation, and entered upon an exceptionally brilliant career, which has culminated in its advancement to the position of State Normal College, and the most complete system of normal training that has yet been devised. A model school is organized and maintained in the college that students may have an opportunity for observing the successful application of the methods of teaching, and that they may have an opportunity to display their knowledge of the subjects taught and their skill in teaching and managing pupils.

The present faculty consists of the following: William J. Milne, Ph. D., LL.D., president, professor of philosophy of education and school economy; A. N. Husted, professor of mathematics; W. V. Jones, principal of high school department (model school), professor of German; F. J. Bartlett, professor of ancient languages; E. W. Wetmore, professor of natural sciences; S. B. Belding, professor of vocal music; Kate Stoneman, teacher of drawing and penmanship; Mary A. McClelland, teacher of

English grammar and history; Mrs. Margaret Sullivan Mooney, teacher of elocution, rhetoric and English literature; E. Helen Hannahs, teacher of natural sciences and French; Mrs. Sara F. Bliss, teacher of elementary methods; Clara M. Russell, elementary methods and criticisms; Edith Bodley, secretary; Ellen J. Pearne, principal of grammar department (model school); Anna E. Pierce, principal of primary department (model school); Ida M. Isdell, principal of the kindergarten; Helen L. Sewell, assistant in the kindergarten. Attendance last year, 666.

BROCKPORT.

The Brockport Normal School, in Monroe county, was formally opened on April 17, 1867, when a short session of ten weeks was begun. The first regular school year commenced September 4, 1867. During that school year there were in attendance 157 pupils. The first appropriation was \$12,000. The first local board was composed of the following persons: Dr. M. B. Anderson, Jerome Fuller, Thomas Cornes, Henry W. Seymour, Augustus F. Brainard, Byron E. Huntley, Daniel Holmes, Eliphalet Whitney, John A. Latta, Timothy Frye, J. Durward Decker, Joseph A. Tozier and Elijah C. Chriswell. The members of the original faculty were: Professor Malcolm McVicar, principal; C. D. McLean, Oliver Arey, Mrs. H. E. G. Arey, preceptress; Sarah M. Efner, Lucy A. Mead, Helen Roby, Lucena J. Grant, Sarah Haskell, Elizabeth Richmond, Martha Stark, Fidelia C. Alling and William J. Milne. Two other teachers, Miss M. J. Thompson and Miss C. Minerva Chriswell, were added to the faculty July 12, 1867.

The local board at present consist of Daniel Holmes, John H. Kingsbury, Eliphalet Whitney, Joseph A. Tozier, Thomas Belden, Elijah Chriswell, Edgar Benedict, John D. Burns, Henry S. Madden, Henry Harrison, Thomas H. Dobson.

The faculty is constituted as follows: Charles D. McLean, A. M., LL. B., principal; W. H. Lennon, C. D. Seeley, C. W. Smith, A. Tooley, Mary P. Rhoades, C. Minerva Chriswell, Jane E.

Lowery, Margaret J. Thompson, Sarah M. Efner, Elizabeth S. Richmond, Emma L. Randlett, Flora C. Willsea, Fanchon W. Smith, Mary A. Cady, Louise C. Williams, Josephine Twichell, Mary O. White. Attendance last year, 790.

BUFFALO.

This school first opened September 13, 1871, with an appropriation of \$18,000, since increased to \$19,000. Ninety-four pupils were registered the first year. The members of the first local board of the Buffalo Normal and Training School were: N. K. Hall, chairman; William H. Greene, secretary; Joseph Warren, treasurer; Thomas F. Rochester, Francis H. Root, Grover Cleveland, Albert H. Tracy, Henry Lapp and Allen Porter. The original faculty consisted of the following: Henry B. Buckham, principal; William B. Wright, George Hadley, Calvin Patterson, David S. Kellicott, Charles M. Sykes, Mark M. Maycock, Laura G. Lovell, Susan Hoxie, Sarah Bostwick and Mary J. Harmon. The present local board consists of S. M. Clement, president; D. F. Day, vice-president; P. P. Pratt, treasurer; C. W. Goodyear, G. C. Greene, Wm. Hengerer, Henry Lapp, D. H. McMillan, and Thos. Lathrop. The present faculty is: Jas. M. Cassety, A. M., Ph. D., principal; M. A. G. Meads, mathematics; M. M. Maycock, drawing and physical geography; I. P. Bishop, natural sciences; W. L. Sprague, Latin and Greek; Joseph Mischke, music and German; Anne K. Eggleston, methods and head critic; Mary Wright, arithmetic and algebra; Isabelle Gibson, French and general assistant; May L. Perry, reading, elocution and gymnastics; Laura E. Sprague, rhetoric, English literature and history; Helen G. Burch, grammar and composition. Attendance last year, 683.

CORTLAND.

The Cortland Normal School organized in 1868, under the general act of two years before. It opened on March 3, 1869. The members of the original local board were: Henry S. Randall, president; R. H. Duell, secretary; Charles C. Taylor, treasurer; Arnold Stafford, Horatio Ballard, F. Hyde, Henry Brewer, Norman Chamberlain and William Newkirk.

The members of the original faculty were: James H. Hoose, principal; Norman F. Wright, Frank S. Capen, Thomas B. Stowell, Martha Roe, Helen E. M. Babcock, Martha E. Couch, Marianna Bates, Lemoyne A. Hoose, Helen K. Hubbard, Margaret Hunter and Charles A. Fowler.

The amount appropriated by the State the first year was \$7,660.87. For the next fiscal year it will be \$20,685. The number of pupils during the first year was 782. The present local board is as follows: W. H. Clark, chairman; John W. Suggestt, secretary; L. J. Fitzgerald, treasurer; J. S. Squires, T. H. Wickwire, I. T. Deyo, Hugh Duffy, O. U. Kellogg and Salem Hyde. The present faculty is: Francis J. Cheney, A. M., Ph. D., principal; Darwin L. Bardwell, natural sciences; Welland Hendrick, mathematics; Clara J. Robinson, gymnastics, civics and school law; Mary E. Trow, history and English; Mary F. Hendrick, rhetoric, reading, elocution and English literature; Clara E. Booth, geography, French and German; Carrie D. Halbert, vocal music and methods in music; Mary Lurena Webster, English, Latin and science; Margaret H. Hooker, industrial drawing; Thomas J. McEvoy, principal, and critic in intermediate department; Maria W. Bishop, methods, and critic in intermediate department; Mary L. Eastman, principal, and critic in primary department; Sara A. Saunders, methods, and critic in primary department; Jas. E. Banta, Latin and Greek; Martha Roe, methods, and superintendent of practice. Attendance last year, 839.

FREDONIA.

The Fredonia Normal School opened on February 17, 1868, with an annual State appropriation of \$13,000, which has since been increased to \$19,500. The new building to which the school was removed in the fall of its first year cost the village of Fredonia about \$100,000. The school was at first placed under the direct and exclusive control of State Superintendent Weaver. The first local board consisted of: Geo. R. Barker, president; A. W. Johnson, Horace White, A. Z. Madison, Addison Cushing, Orson Stiles, H. C. Lake, Simeon Savage, Albert H. Judson, Wil-

lard McKinstry, Spencer L. Bailey, S. M. Clement, Albert Hawood, L. L. Pratt and Lucius Hurlbut. The teachers of the first year were: Joseph S. Allen, principal; H. P. Perrin, Lucy M. Washburn, Mary Wright, F. B. Palmer, Helen S. Wright, Ellen Seaver, Geo. P. Clark, Mrs. Z. G. Carruth and Ellen Carter. The number of pupils attending the first year was 527.

The present local board is as follows: L. Morris president; Louis McKinstry, secretary; P. H. Stevens, M. M. Fenner, F. C. Chatsey, C. L. Mark and F. R. Green.

The present faculty consists of: Francis B. Palmer, Ph. D., principal; M. T. Dana, vice-principal; A. Y. Freeman, superintendent of practice and principal of intermediate department; T. C. Burgess, ancient languages; F. N. Jewett, natural sciences; Elizabeth Richardson, methods and essays; Anna McLaury, rhetoric and English language, and literature; Mrs. Georgine Dewey-Clothier, vocal music; Jeannie E. Kinsman, principal of primary department; Florelle Hovey, elocution and reading; Jessie Hillman, piano; Minnie Archibald, critic in intermediate department; Nellie F. Palmer, critic in primary department; Mrs. Angie Bunnell, painting; Carrie Livermore, assistant in mathematics; Julia J. Shepard, drawing; Ruth English, critic in primary department. Attendance last year, 632.

GENESEO.

The Geneseo (Wadsworth) Normal School opened September 13, 1871, with a State appropriation of about \$18,000, which is now increased to \$21,000. The original local board of the school consisted of the following persons: General James Wood, president; W. E. Lauderdale, secretary; Hezekiah Allen, treasurer; Scott Lord, Daniel Begelow, Solomon Hubbard, A. J. Abbott, Colonel Rorbach, J. W. Wadsworth. The original faculty consisted of the following: William J. Milne, principal; Jerome Allen, R. A. Waterbury, J. B. Gorham, Helen Roby, L. N. Van Husen, Emeline S. McMaster, Mrs. Sarah Fletcher, Delia M. Van Derbelt, Glora F. Bennet, Delia M. Day, Mary E. Parks and Lizzie Killip. The number of pupils in attendance during the first year was 682. The present local board is follows: W. E. Lauderdale, presi-

dent; C. W. Fielder, treasurer; W. E. Lauderdale, W. A. Brodie, secretaries; A. J. Abbott, Colonel Rorbach, S. Hubbard, J. W. Wadsworth, Colonel Strang, W. A. Wadsworth. The present faculty is as follows: John M. Milne, A. M., Ph. D., principal; Reuben A. Waterbury, mathematics and methods; Hubert J. Schmitz, natural sciences; Frank E. Welles, ancient languages; Myra P. Burdick, rhetoric and literature; Jennie C. Coe, algebra and methods; Mrs. Emeline S. Curtiss, grammar and history; Mary E. Burns, botany, geography and composition; Mrs. Phebe B. Hall, superintendent of intermediate department; Elizabeth McBride, critic in intermediate department and methods; Sara A. Goheen, superintendent of primary department; Elizabeth V. Rorbach, critic in primary department; Helen E. Angell, drawing and painting; Sarah Perry, elocution; Mrs. Louise M. Abbott, French and German; Mary E. Parks, vocal music; Mrs. J. L. Fraley, instrumental music; Julia R. Bailey, algebra and methods. The attendance at this school last year numbered 535 pupils in the normal department, seventy-eight in the academic, and 345 in the school of practice; in all, 758.

NEW PALTZ.

This normal school opened February 15, 1886, with an appropriation of \$18,000, now increased to \$19,000. The first and only local board was as follows: Albert K. Smiley, president; Solomon Deyo, secretary; Charles W. Deyo, treasurer; Alton B. Parker, Jacob LeFevre, George H. Sharpe, Josiah J. Hasbrouck, Jacob D. Wurts, Lambert Jenkins. The original faculty was as follows: Eugene Bouton, principal; Henry A. Balcom, Daniel Smiley, John E. Woodhull, Mrs. Lulu C. Balcom, Miss Clara French and Alfred B. Sherwood. The number of pupils, first year, was 187.

The present faculty is as follows: Frank S. Capen, A. M., Ph. D., principal; Henry L. Griffiths, natural sciences; Cassius J. Keyser, mathematics; Villa F. Page, methods and elocution; Isabel N. Tillinghast, English language and literature; K. A. Gage, ancient languages; Mary L. Freeman, modern languages and history; Sara E. Dillon, drawing and physical culture; Kate M. Denison,

methods, and principal of intermediate department; **Franc M. Witter**, methods, and principal of primary department; **Anna M. Reed**, vocal music and assistant in school of practice; **Charlotte E. Reeve**, critic in intermediate department; **Ada E. Cole**, critic in primary department; **Josephine Lindholm**, instrumental music. The attendance of pupils last year was 520.

ONEONTA.

The Oneonta Normal School opened on September 4, 1889. The annual appropriation for maintenance for one year and one-tenth of a year was \$19,000. The appropriation for the fiscal year, commencing October 1, 1892, is \$22,000. The number of students enrolled during the first year was 349.

The local board, originally appointed September 7, 1887, consisted of the following: **William H. Morris**, president; **Eugene Raymond**, secretary; **James Stewart**, treasurer; **Frank B. Arnold**, **George I. Wilber**, **Walter L. Brown**, **Willard E. Yager**, **Reuben Reynolds**, **Charles D. Hammond**, **Frederick A. Mead**, **Samuel M. Thurber**.

The faculty, as confirmed by the Superintendent of Public Instruction April 18, 1889, was as follows: **James M. Milne**, principal; **Percy I. Bugbee**, **Charles N. Cobb**, **William M. Aber**, **Edwin F. Bacon**, **E. P. Russel**, **Elizabeth Weingand**, **Harriet T. Sanford**, **Elizabeth B. McLelland**, **Mrs. Helen E. Carpenter**, **Anna Gertrude Childs**, **Grace Bell Latimer**, **Frances A. Hurd**, **Mary E. Gillis**. Of the original local board three members, **Messrs. Stewart**, **Arnold** and **Thurber** have died or resigned and their places have been filled by **David Whipple**, **H. D. Nelson** and **Hobart Krum**.

The present faculty is as follows: **James M. Milne, A. M., Ph. D.**, principal; **Percy I. Bugbee**, mathematics; **Charles N. Cobb**, sciences; **Edwin F. Bacon**, modern languages; **Vernon P. Squires**, ancient languages; **Elizabeth Weingand**, methods, grammar, and superintendent of training department; **Anna Gertrude Childs**, music, English and criticism; **Alice Gray Bothwell**, literature, rhetoric and history; **Harriet A. Gates**, methods, drawing and

criticism; Winifred Parsons, elocution, expression and physical culture; Grace Bell Latimer, civics, school law and principal in intermediate department; Frances A. Hurd, penmanship and criticism; Gertrude M. Stewart, physical geography and principal in primary department; Elizabeth R. Hull, methods and criticism. The attendance of pupils last year was 596.

OSWEGO.

The success of the Albany Normal School led to the establishment of a similar institution at Oswego, but so conservative and timid were our lawmakers that it took nearly twenty years to convince them that normal schools would be valuable auxiliaries to the promotion of public instruction.

The Oswego school was organized on the 1st of May, 1861, as a city training school. There were but nine regular pupils in the class and but one teacher, and there was absolutely no appropriation for it, either by the city board of education or by the State. In 1863 a small appropriation of \$3,000 was voted by the State to aid in the support of the school. By some flaw in the act the school received no portion of the money. No local board was appointed until May 11, 1867. At that time Superintendent Rice appointed the following members as a local board: Delos Dewolf, Daniel G. Fort, Samuel B. Johnson, David Harmon, J. M. Barrow, Gilbert Mollison, Benjamin Doolittle, Theodore Irwin, John K. Post, Abner C. Mattoon, Thomson Kingsford, Thomas S. Mott and Robert F. Sage, thirteen in all. The number of pupils registered in that year, 1867, was 283. The faculty included the following persons: E. A. Sheldon, J. W. Armstrong, Hermann Krusi, I. B. Poucher, E. J. Hamilton, C. C. Curtiss, Emily A. Rice, Matilda S. Cooper, Mary H. Smith, Elen Seaver, Mary E. Perkins, Edward Trowbridge, A. T. Randall, Sarah J. Armstrong, Delia S. Lathrop, Martha McCumber, Tille C. Staats and Kate Davis, eighteen in all. The State appropriation for 1867 was \$13,403.69. The school received from the city during the year, in addition to the State appropriation, \$2,303.85, making

as a total amount, \$15,706.54. The local board at present is Theodore Irwin, treasurer; John Dowdle, secretary; Benjamin Doolittle, Abner C. Mattoon, Edwin Allen, George B. Sloan, John C. Churchill, John A. Place, Alanson S. Page, Frederick O. Clarke, S. Mortimer Coon.

The present faculty is as follows: E. A. Sheldon, A. M., Ph. D., principal; I. B. Poucher, arithmetic, algebra, geometry and trigonometry; A. W. Norton, ethical training, reading, vocal music and superintendent of the school of practice; J. W. Stump, botany, familiar science, geology and mineralogy, astronomy, chemistry and physics; Margaret K. Smith, philosophy and history of education, grammar, English language, plants; Caroline L. G. Scales, history, literature, rhetoric and composition; Sarah J. Walter, geography and methods of teaching the same, arithmetic methods and school of practice; W. R. Bishop, Latin, German and gymnastics; Mary N. McElroy, school of practice and composition and rhetoric; Amanda P. Funnelle, principal of kindergarten department; Anna Flynn, physical culture and primary and kindergarten departments; Mary L. O'Geran, school of practice; C. F. Hoick, Josephine C. Bunker.

The attendance last year numbered 382 pupils in the normal department and 479 in the school of practice. The State appropriation for next year is \$21,000.

PLATTSBURGH.

The Plattsburgh Normal School opened September 3, 1890, with an appropriation of \$85,000 for the erection of the building and for furniture. The number of students enrolled was 113 in the normal department and 122 in the practice department.

The original board of managers consisted of: Alfred Guibord, Everett C. Baker, Smith M. Weed, Alexander Bertrand, Henry G. Burleigh, Charles F. Hudson, S. Alonzo Kellogg, Rowland C. Kellogg, Stephen Moffitt, William P. Mooers, John B. Riley, Lucien L. Shedden, William C. Stevens. The board remains the same with the exception of Mr. Weed, who has been succeeded by his son, Hon. George S. Weed.

The faculty at the opening of the school was: Fox Holden, principal; Myron T. Scudder, George H. Hudson, George K. Hawkins, Thankful M. Knight, Mary W. Lyon, Alice L. O'Brien, Helen M. Palmer, Sara J. Stewart, Eliza Kellas, Elizabeth B. Garrity, Kate S. Woodruff.

The present faculty is as follows: Edward N. Jones, principal; George H. Hudson, vice-principal, natural science; George K. Hawkins, mathematics; D. A. Lockwood, methods; Eleanor A. M. Gamble, Greek and Latin; Helen M. Palmer, French and German; Theodora Kyle, history and literature; Alice E. O'Brien, elocution and physical culture; S. Mae Hapgood, music; Kate S. Woodruff, form study, drawing and penmanship.

The faculty of the school of practice consists of: Eliza Kellas, principal and critic; Lucy E. Tracy, critic; Louise A. Perry, critic.

The present State appropriation for this school is \$20,800. The attendance last year was 142 normal students and 156 model school pupils.

POTSDAM.

On April 27, 1869, the Potsdam Normal School became a reality, two years after the passage of the act authorizing it. It achieved popularity from the beginning, and had 328 pupils during the first year. The annual appropriation was at first fixed at \$12,000. For the coming fiscal year it will be \$23,500.

The first local board was as follows: Henry S. Watkins, president; Chas. O. Tappan, secretary; Jesse Reynolds, treasurer; Aaron N. Duning, Geo. Ormiston, Noble S. Elderkin, Eben Fisher, John L. Gilbert, Roswell Pettibone.

The original faculty was as follows: Malcolm McVicar, principal; George H. Sweet, Henry L. Harter, E. D. Blakeslee, Gilbert B. Manley, Robert H. Dutton, M. Annie Allen, Ellen J. Merritt, Lucy A. Leonard, S. Julia Gilbert, Helen S. Wright, Sybil E. Russell, Amelia Morey, Eleanor E. Jones, Florinda E. Williams, Eunice J. Merriam.

The local board at present consists of the following: General E. A. Merritt, president; J. G. McIntyre, secretary; G. Z. Erwin,

treasurer; Jesse Reynolds, John I. Gilbert, A. G. Gaines, Geo. H. Sweet, William R. Weed, Hon. John A. Vance.

The present faculty is as follows: T. B. Stowell, A. M., Ph. D., principal; Amelia Morey, English language and methods; Warren Mann, natural science and methods; Edward W. Flagg, history, English literature and rhetoric; Ida B. Steyer, French and German; Jane F. Butrick, principal primary department; J. Ettie Crane, vocal music and methods; Fred. L. Dewey, Greek and Latin; Freeman H. Allen, arithmetic, American history and methods; Minnie R. Lucas, reading, elocution, physical culture and methods; A. W. Morehouse, mathematics, geology and geography; Stansbury Gorse, drawing and methods; Sarah V. Chollar, botany, composition, school law and methods; A. A. Woodward, principal intermediate department; James M. Graves, Composition, preparatory branches and methods; F. E. Hathorne, piano, organ, harmony; Mrs. F. E. Hathorne, assistant piano; Henry A. Watkins, leader of orchestra; Grace T. Howe, assistant vocal music.

The number of pupils that attended this school last year was 989.

Indian Schools.

In 1856, under the provisions of an act of the Legislature, schools for the instruction of Indian children were organized on the Onondaga, Cattaraugus, Allegany and St. Regis reservations. Two years later the Shinnecock Indians on Long Island were favored in like manner. In 1870 there were twenty-six Indian schools, thirty-nine teachers, of whom seventeen were Indians, and 1,000 pupils.

The Department of Public Instruction has been charged for the past thirty-seven years with the duty of providing instruction for Indian children living upon reservations within the borders of the State. Liberal appropriations have been made towards that end from time to time by the Legislature. The bounty of the State has not been expended in vain, for the condition of those who have availed themselves of the educational opportunities offered them has been much improved. The first report upon Indian schools was made in 1857, when there were 1,658

Indians of school age, between four and twenty-one years within the borders of the State. The attendance at the newly established schools was very small. In 1867, after ten years' trial, the schools increased to twenty-six, with an aggregate attendance of 968, and an average session of twenty-seven weeks. The attendance was less than twenty-five per cent of the whole number of Indian children.

There are at present six reservations—Allegany and Cattaraugus, Onondaga, St. Regis, Shinnecock and Poospatuck, Tonawanda and Tuscarora. On these six reservations are 1,553 children of school age, of whom 953 attended school during a portion of last year, the average daily attendance being 378. There were twenty-nine teachers, and the entire expense of the Indian schools for the year was about \$9,519. The Legislature this year has liberally provided for necessary improvements in the condition of these schools. The principal drawback to the success of Indian schools is the unconquerable thriftlessness and disinclination for any regular work on the part of the Indian. The reservation system tends to perpetuate and intensify this shiftlessness and laziness, and it is very difficult to instil any degree of interest for the schools in the breasts of the Indians. Many of the head men on the reservations are opposed to schools, as they think they tend to lessen their influence and enlighten and civilize the children. Until tribal relations and reservations are abolished, it is hopeless for the Indian to advance and take his place as a valuable member of the commonwealth.

Compulsory Education.

The question of compulsory education has occupied, for many years, the most earnest attention of thoughtful men, and as time rolls on it becomes more pressing and of greater importance. The chief commercial State of the Union, the principal gate-way through which the vast stream of immigration pours into the country, requires, beyond all others, the safeguard of universal education to enable it to blend and assimilate heterogeneous foreign elements with our advanced civilization and destroy the noxious weeds of ignorance which, left unchecked, would choke up

the vigorous growth of enterprise and poison the air of freedom. It is unquestioned that universal education is highly conducive to the welfare of the body politic, and that the State, having adopted a system of free public instruction, and having provided to a great extent for its maintenance, should require the attendance of all children of suitable age, who do not receive instruction elsewhere, in order that the benefits of the schools may be fully realized. How to enforce this principle without unwarrantable interference with the authority of parents and guardians over their children, has been a problem with educators and legislators. It has been truly said that the adaptation of a system of education to the recognized wants and interests of the people, and its moral strength and influence, will do more to decrease truancy and attract children to the schools than any legislative enactments and penalties. The better the schools, the larger the attendance. The greater the improvement in methods of teaching, the less occasion there will be to scour the highways or the streets for pupils. The low per cent of school registration for the cities of the State during the past year, about forty-eight per cent, is due to a large extent to the wide limits of the lawful school age, which stretches out to twenty-one years, at least three years beyond what is necessary. In the cities are, however, large numbers of children of tender years, who never realize the blessings of education, on account of the criminal neglect or selfishness of their parents. In 1874 the compulsory education law first went into operation in New York. It has not accomplished the object for which it was intended, as it has been permitted to remain unenforced, the local authorities being unwilling to court unpopularity and opposition in the attempt to carry out its provisions. There is much need of an efficient compulsory law, although the Legislature seems to be unwilling to take up the subject in the proper spirit. The State has a right to demand from the parent or guardian proper education for the child. The law of 1874 is a very clumsy and impracticable affair, containing many impracticable provisions which render it in the most material points null and void.

Educational Societies and Conventions.

The first State convention of teachers, under the auspices of the State Teachers' Association, was held at Syracuse, in the summer of 1845, John W. Bulkley being president. It succeeded the State convention of Superintendents, and both meetings were most notable assemblages for educational purposes. The teachers listened to eloquent addresses by Frederick Emerson, of Boston; Professor Simeon North, and C. W. Anthony. This convention established a teachers' journal and gave considerable impetus to the cause of education. The State Teachers' Association has held annual conventions for forty-seven years, and has ever been a most valuable factor in school advance. The council of school superintendents has been held annually for ten years and has contributed valuable assistance to the good work. Then there is the New York State Association of School Commissioners and Superintendents, which has held annual meetings for thirty-eight years, at which most important subjects have been considered. There are many educational societies in more restricted fields of usefulness, but all serve as effective, moral and civilizing forces of the first value in all that concerns the social and mental amelioration of the lot of the people of the State. All of those elements, united to the Department of Public Instruction, are like great mains and service pipes through which the vivifying water of education is laid on into extensive districts, covered with teeming populations, who would, but for such agencies, have perished of mental thirst. They teach the ignorant; they lead into the light those groping in the dark; they fit the rising generation to cope with the new ideas that are constantly springing up and to aid in the great work of educational progress.

A Noble System.

There is a wide stretch of 260 years from the arrival of Adam Roelandson, the first schoolmaster on our shores, to this Columbian era of national display and rejoicing. The principal educational features of that period have been lightly glanced over in the preceding pages to present a faint outline of a glorious

history which would require many volumes to adequately illustrate. Few primitive communities encountered such discouragements to educational advancement as that founded on the banks of the Hudson, and none met discouragements more valiantly and successfully. Not the greed of the unscrupulous company of traders who first ruled this State, nor the insolent pride and intolerance of the subsequent royal governors, could hinder New York from fulfilling its glorious destiny as first in education, first in enterprise, first in wealth and first in the commerce of the nation. The sunrise of education in this State, over two centuries ago, was full of cloud and doubt and uncertain presages. But the glorious orb has now mounted to the top of its noonday tower, and all clouds are melted away into the blue, while in every part of this broad land, from Lake Erie to Montauk, from the North woods to the Pennsylvania line, the light of education falls on thousands of schoolhouses with their million pupils. But wonderful as the advance in New York in two centuries and a half has been in all educational departments, the exceptional productive and vivifying power that seems to permeate this State in everything it essays in the line of progress, can not fail to bring forth, ere the twentieth century is well advanced, such results in public instruction as will make the ignorant man in New York as extinct as the dodo. The wonderful possibilities of education and the far-distant heights yet unclimbed by our educators, are mirrored with faithful distinctness in the translucent lake of our common school system. We look forward confidently to the day when the system shall pervade every part of the State, as the sole representative of the intellectual needs of the people, controlling colleges as well as country schools, inspiring all within the commonwealth, gathering in all the children of school age, filling the entire territory of the State with schools—to which, as architectural features alone, each locality will point with pride to the inquiring stranger—supplying even the humblest country schools with a corps of trained, zealous teachers, who will look upon teaching as a noble profession, not as a makeshift or stepping-stone to some-

thing else, filling the land with normal schools, teachers' institutes, training classes and educational conventions and societies, and acting as an invigorating elixir to every branch of industrial development within the State. Grand as the present prospect is, when we look around the educational horizon, it is but a small area compared with that which the schools of the future in the Empire State will occupy.

School Moneys and Attendance.

The following table will show generally by semi-decades the development of our common school system from the earliest suggestions of it, under a free government, down to the present time. The statistics are in some respects incomplete:

	Public moneys expended.	Attendance.
1798* .....	.....	59,660
1816‡ .....	.....	140,106
1820	\$206,348	271,877
1825	161,340	420,000
1830	586,520	500,000
1835 .....	.....	541,000
1840	1,011,873	570,000
1845	1,097,985	736,000
1850	1,884,818	800,430
1855	3,554,587	867,577
1860	3,774,247	867,388
1865	5,735,460	881,184
1870	10,209,978	1,029,852
1875	11,459,353	1,059,238
1880	10,296,977	1,031,593
1885	13,466,368	1,024,845
1890	17,392,472	1,042,160
1891	17,174,835	1,054,044
1892	18,203,988	1,073,093

* Returns from 16 out of 83 counties.

‡ Returns from 36 out of 46 counties.

General Expenditures for Schools.

The following table shows the entire amount expended during the year for the maintenance of public educational interests directly connected with the State Department of Public Instruction:

For the salaries of common school teachers....	\$11,621,066 73
For district libraries	61,820 20
For school apparatus	374,840 35
For buildings, sites, furniture, etc	3,925,191 10
For other expenses incidental to the support of common schools	2,220,060 18
For teachers' institutes	23,510 37
For teachers' training classes	39,553 98
For normal schools	309,696 93
For Indian schools	9,790 96
For American Museum of Natural History....	12,719 66
For Department of Public Instruction.....	32,571 50
For school commissioners	114,000 00
For New York Institution for the Blind.....	83,054 57
For institutions for the deaf and dumb.....	190,765 26
For school registers	5,200 00
For Arbor Day	913 06
For county treasurers	10,813 21
Total	<hr/> \$19,035,568 06 <hr/>

Common School Statistics.

Number of children of school age in the State.....	1,845,519
Common schools, number of pupils.....	1,073,093
Normal schools, number of pupils.....	7,842
Academies, number of pupils.....	44,875
Colleges, number of pupils.....	9,350
Private schools, number of pupils.....	163,941
Law schools, number of pupils.....	1,000
Medical schools, number of pupils.....	4,274
Teachers, number of	32,161

Average annual salary	\$467 00
Average weekly salary	\$12 62
Number of log schoolhouses.....	41
Number of frame schoolhouses.....	10,127
Number of brick schoolhouses.....	1,532
Number of stone schoolhouses.....	317
Average length of school terms, weeks.....	37

Six counties, Albany, Erie, Kings, Monroe, New York and Westchester, pay \$1,291,344.24 in school taxes more than they receive back from the State. The other fifty-four counties receive for the support of their schools more than they pay the State, the balance being paid by the counties above named.

STATE SUPERINTENDENTS.

NAMES.	Residence.	Chosen.
Gideon Hawley.....	Albany.....	January 14, 1813
Welcome Esleeck	Albany.....	February 22, 1821
<i>Secretaries of State and Superintendents, ex officio :</i>		
John Van Ness Yates	Albany.....	April 3, 1821
Azariah C. Flagg.....	Plattsburgh	April 14, 1826
John A. Dix.....	Cooperstown	April 1, 1833
John C. Spencer.....	Canandaigua	April 4, 1839
Samuel Young	Ballston	April 7, 1843
Nathaniel S. Benton.....	Little Falls.....	April 8, 1845
Christopher Morgan.....	Auburn.....	November 2, 1847
Henry S. Randall.....	Cortland	November 4, 1851
Elias W. Leavenworth	Syracuse.....	November 8, 1853
<i>Department of Public Instruction :</i>		
Victor M. Rice.....	Buffalo.....	April 4, 1854
Henry H. Van Dyck.....	Albany.....	April 7, 1857
Emerson W. Keyes*.....	Albany.....	April 9, 1861
Victor M. Rice.....	Buffalo.....	February 1, 1862
Abram B. Weaver.....	Deerfield	April 7, 1868
Neil Gilmour	Ballston Spa.....	April 7, 1874
William B. Ruggles.....	Bath.....	March 14, 1883
James E. Morrison*.....	New York city	January 1, 1886
Andrew S. Draper.....	Albany.....	April 6, 1886
James F. Crooker.....	Buffalo.....	April 7, 1892

* Acting Superintendents by reason of resignations.

NOTE.—The writer desires to express his acknowledgements for data and information obtained from the valuable works of Broadhead, Howell and Randall and also from the Holland and English Colonial documents on the subjects discussed in the preceding treatise on the Schools of New York.



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PUBLIC SCHOOL PIONEERING
IN
NEW YORK AND MASSACHUSETTS

BY
ANDREW S. DRAPER



PUBLIC SCHOOL PIONEERING IN NEW YORK AND MASSACHUSETTS.

"Reviewing the evolutionary process from the beginning, we note that there have been six steps : compulsory education, compulsory schools, compulsory certification of teachers, compulsory supervision, compulsory taxation, compulsory attendance ; and it seems that Massachusetts took each of these steps in advance of the other States—a little in advance of her sister States in New England, far in advance of all the others."

The above is perhaps the most striking passage in a paper by Mr. George H. Martin, the accomplished agent of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts, read at the Department of Superintendence of the National Educational Association, in Philadelphia, in February, 1891, under the title "Compulsory Education in Massachusetts." The literary finish, as well as the audacity of the paper, attracted particular attention.

The Department was justified in expecting that Mr. Martin would present the methods adopted in his State to insure a general attendance of children upon school, and the extent to which such methods had been effectual ; and upon that subject, it was believed, there was much to be said. Instead of doing that, he treated of the educational history of Massachusetts, and claimed that it antedated and overshadowed that of all other sections of the country. He manifested sensitiveness because "some recent writers" had been unwilling to adopt this view, and resented the suggestion that the Dutch as well as the English had had something to do with inaugurating and promoting educational activity on this side of the ocean. As so many other loyal and accomplished Massachusetts men have done before him, he eliminated matters which do not

support his claims, referred to places and events which start a patriotic glow in every American breast, asserted general propositions which meet a ready response in every American soul, and secured in this way the acquiescence of his hearers in statements and inferences not supported by facts and opposed to the truth of authentic history.

The broad subject cannot be traversed in a magazine article. Only one phase of it will be now considered. It is the conviction of the writer of this article *that America is indebted to the Dutch rather than to the English for the essential principles of the great free-school system of the country, and that in the several most important steps which have marked the establishment and the development of that system, New York, and not Massachusetts, has led the way.*

In support of this proposition an appeal must be made to well-known facts, to the views of approved authorities, and to the original records. Even then New York is at a disadvantage, for the records of New Netherlands are by no means so complete as are those of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay. She cannot permit this disadvantage to be increased by accepting, as proof, the embellished utterances of fervid poets, orators, and "historians" whose literary work is colored and biased by their love for the "mountain where their fathers worshiped."

At the time of the early settlements upon the Massachusetts coast, the Republic of the Netherlands presented the first instance in the history of the world in which a republican form of government had existed for any length of time over a territory of any size. The right of self-government had been won in a bloody war, in which more than a hundred thousand Netherlanders had lost their lives. By valor, for conscience' sake, they had broken the rod of the oppressor, thrust back the kingly power crushed and beaten, and gained the right to think and act for themselves. They had set up a form of popular government which became the model for our several States and our confederated republic. Having paid the price, they knew the value of liberty. Their country be-

came the asylum of the oppressed of other lands. It witnessed a great commercial and industrial development. In education, painting, political science, finance, mechanical industries, and commercial activity, the Dutch were leading the world. They were coming and going also, and thus indoctrinating others with their love of liberty and their business prosperity.

England was not in a condition to be compared with the Netherlands. Her people numbered but two-fifths of the present population of New York. She was under the domination of the king; agricultural products were few; manufacturing was almost unknown; the Church and state were one. The whole policy of the government, so far as learning was concerned, was to educate a few elaborately for the purposes of the state and Church, and to keep the masses in ignorance for fear they would learn their rights and demand them. The only schools were Latin schools and universities for the nobility. There were no schools for the people. Writing of a time one hundred and fifty years later, Mr. Bancroft says the mass of the people of England could not read nor write. Indeed this policy has been followed by the English government ever since, though now it seems to have discovered that it can continue no longer.

Means of travel were then extremely meager. People could travel more easily by water than on the land. The Spanish invasion of the Netherlands sent many Dutchmen to the eastern shores of England. The expulsion of the invaders, with ensuing results, brought many Englishmen to the Netherlands. The Dutch influence made the eastern counties of England the hotbed of opposition to the prevailing government and the established Church. Persecution ensued, and the martyr fires were lighted. These eastern counties furnished the greater part of the victims. But the blood of the martyrs nurtured the cause. In a little time it involved all England in a revolution which cost the king his head. But it was a revolution which could endure but a few years in that age and on that territory.

IN MASSACHUSETTS.

From these eastern counties of England came the first settlers of Massachusetts. They came to make a revolution successful in the New World which the people at home could not fully accomplish.

Plymouth colony was first settled in 1620 by a company of nonconformists or opponents of the English Church who first went to Holland in 1609 for that freedom of worship which was denied them at home. They were obliged to go by stealth. For attempting to do so they were hunted down by English authority, and a portion of their number imprisoned and fined. They remained in Holland eleven years, and then came to the New World. They did not cease to be Englishmen. Indeed, the main reason for transplanting the colony from Holland to Plymouth was the fear that they would become absorbed by the Dutch. Their sons would fall in love with Dutch girls, and their daughters would marry Dutchmen. They would be absorbed into the Dutch life if they stayed there. That was precisely what they did not want. Therefore they came to Plymouth.

The Colony at Massachusetts Bay came ten years later. It came direct from eastern England. It was not on principle opposed to the English Church. It was composed of Puritans. There were Puritans within the Church as well as without it. The Puritan was first and last the servant of God. According to the testimony they have left us, the company of Puritans who settled at Massachusetts Bay came to propagate the Gospel.¹ The government was a quasi-theocracy. The Church was first and foremost in the governmental organism. The government built the building, paid the minister, and managed all the affairs of the Church. The minister was a member of the governing body. No man could be elected a "freeman," or have any voice in choosing the officers or determining the policy of the government, unless he was a member of the Church.² The Church and the state were one and the same.

¹ *New Englander*, vol. xlv, p. 214.

² Winsor, *Memorial History of Massachusetts*, vol. iii, p. 313.

In both of these colonies English habits, customs, and ideas of course prevailed. The people were thoroughly English, and did not cease to be so for two or three generations. We should expect them to follow the English plan in reference to education and the schools, and they did. The claims of the men from Massachusetts who speak upon her educational history are so great that we must expect to find a schoolhouse rising on Plymouth Rock the morning after the disembarkation, but *in the Plymouth Colony there was no school of any character for fifty-two years after the settlement.*³ The colony had increased to twelve villages before any school was started, and the school then started was not an elementary school, but a Latin school.⁴

In the colony of Massachusetts Bay there was considerable wealth and an educated clergy from the beginning, and the clerical influence was manifest and strong. Indeed, the common feeling of the people exacted and sustained an influential clergy. Religion was the dominant element in the Puritan character. The Bible was their civil constitution. Whatever was done was done to promote the ends of the Church. The Massachusetts colony was a sect, all of one mind. It was a most intolerant sect. It imprisoned, banished, and hanged any who seemed likely to disturb the harmony of the sect. To differ in opinion was a crime. Everything which they could do was done to bind this theocracy together and to prevent the possibility of intrusion from without or dissension within.

In 1636 these people contributed their first money for an educational purpose. It was expended to promote their sectarian end, and it was in accord with the universal English idea. It was a payment of £400 to found a theological college, for such Harvard College was in its beginning.⁵ All that they did along educational lines for several generations was to promote that end, and was in accord with that idea.

³ *Plymouth Records*, vol. v, p. 107.

⁴ *Plymouth Records*, November, 1677.

⁵ Barry's *History of Massachusetts*, pp. 310-313. Also *North American Review*, vol. xlvii, p. 276.

The town records of Boston in 1635 state that "Brother Philemon Purmont" was "entreated to become a schoolmaster."⁶ There is no proof that he did so. The evidence is rather to the contrary, for there would have been records had there been anything to record.

It is known that in 1636 a Latin school was started. Probably the invitation to "Brother Purmont" had reference to that. It was for the same purpose as the college, and a necessary feeder to it. In succeeding years, other Latin schools were opened in other towns of the colony. But there were no other schools started. The Boston Latin School was the only school in Boston for more than fifty years after the founding of the town. Some have assumed that this school taught the elementary branches. It is all assumption, and opposed to known facts.⁷ Children were to be taught to read at home or by the masters to whom they were apprenticed.⁸ Again and again the statement is made that this was in order that they might read the Bible. A few brighter boys were sent to the Latin school that they might enter the college and prepare for the ministry.

There is nothing to indicate that the starting of the Latin school was, at the time, considered a matter of consequence. Governor Winthrop's journal treats of everything which the leading man in the colony considered at all important,—of many things which seem to us very unimportant,—but it contains no reference to this school.

Much is made of the action of the colonial government in 1642, touching the teaching of children to read, and to recite the catechism, as well there may be, but it had no reference to schools. It referred wholly to family instruction, or instruction by masters to their apprentices. Indeed, it is proof that there was no school for elementary instruction. Otherwise the injunction would have been to send children to such school.

⁶ *Boston Records*, vol. i, p. 3.

⁷ Winsor, *History of Boston*, 237.

⁸ *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xii, p. 387.

Now we come to what Mr. Martin calls the "Compulsory Education law" of 1647. As it is the most important of the early acts and as I am unable to agree with all that is claimed for it, I present it entire.

"It being one chief project of Satan to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in unknown tongues, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded and corrupted with false glosses of deceivers; to the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers, in church and in commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors :

"It is therefore ordered by this court and the authority thereof, that every township within this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their towns to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided that those who send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns.

"And it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; and if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, then every such town shall pay five pounds per annum to the next such school, till they shall perform this order."

It will be noticed in the first place that the reason assigned for passing the act was to circumvent Satan, whose "chief project" was "to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures." It was to promote the ends of the Puritan Church.

Two things are ordered to be done; *first*, in towns of fifty householders a person was to be designated to teach children "who should resort to him" to "write and read"; *second*, in towns of one hundred householders a high school was to be maintained to fit boys for the university.

The second paragraph is the only basis for the claim that Massachusetts provided for common schools in 1647. It refers to teaching children to "write and read" but says nothing about a *school*. In determining what it means we are to take the known circumstances and ideas of the time into account. In taking this action, these people did only what they were in the habit of doing; they progressed only along a line they had been accustomed to follow; they were pursuing

a policy they had previously initiated. That was, home instruction sufficient to enable the multitude to read the Bible, and high schools to train the few for positions in the Church and state. Parents and masters were neglecting to teach children to read. Perhaps some were unable or incompetent to do so. This was defeating the religious aim and purpose of the colony. Hence they provided for a man in each town who could supply the deficiency. But it did not imply the coming together in a common school. There was no penalty imposed for refusing or neglecting to comply with the injunction. The only penalty was for not maintaining high schools, so as to make sure that the theological college was well supplied.

The manner in which this law was *observed* also shows that the authorities by whom and the people for whom it was made, interpreted it in this way. *There was no school but the Latin school in Boston for thirty-five years after the law was enacted.* No steps were taken to compel the organization of one. Some of the other towns refused to organize Latin schools. The penalty in such cases was enforced. They paid the penalty rather than comply with the law, and the penalty was from time to time increased. But nothing is recorded about a penalty for failing to open elementary schools, and nothing whatever was said or done in that direction for many years. If there had been, it would have appeared in the voluminous records, and Massachusetts men would know all about it, and be sure to tell of it in good form and for all it would be worth.

Such early schools as there were in Massachusetts were then and are now called "free schools." They were not free schools, however—certainly not in the sense in which we use the term. They were free only to the poor. Such as could pay were obliged to pay.⁹ The writers frequently say that they were supported upon the principle of "voluntary taxation," and if such a thing were possible, they might be right. We know that schoolhouses were built from subscriptions.

⁹ *Massachusetts Records*, vol. ii, p. 203.

The whole fact is that for certainly more than sixty years of Massachusetts colonial life, and probably much longer, elementary instruction was held to be only a family duty for the attainment of a religious end. A few of the brighter boys were sent to a Latin school commonly kept by the village pastor.¹⁰ This was likewise for a religious end. Teachers were required to give satisfaction "according to the rules of Christ."¹¹ To the support of the school, first the colony and afterward the town devoted the income of common lands or fees derived from licenses to fish in public waters. They sometimes provided that the school should be no farther charge upon the town.¹² Beyond this it was maintained by church funds, by donations of agricultural products to the minister, and by a rate tax upon such as received benefits and were able to pay. The early history of Massachusetts will be searched in vain for any enunciation of the doctrine that all the property of all the people, regardless of religious or other opinions, must, by operation of law, be made to contribute ratably to the education of all the children of the people.

The early Massachusetts schools did not receive all the children of the people. No boys were received under seven years of age till 1818. No girls of any age were admitted prior to 1789. *It was one hundred and forty-two years after the passage of the so-called "compulsory school law" of 1647 before Boston admitted one girl to her so-called "free schools," and it was one hundred and eighty-one years thereafter before girls had facilities equal to those enjoyed by their brothers.*¹³

It was only after a residence of many years, when the original generation of Puritan immigrants had passed away and a native-born generation was shaping affairs; when the Puritan theocracy was entering the road leading to an American Commonwealth; when opinions had become more tolerant; when regard for the English educational policy had waned; when

¹⁰ *New Englander*, vol. xlv, p. 218.

¹¹ *North American Review*, vol. xlvii, p. 279.

¹² *Plymouth Records*, June, 1674.

¹³ Winsor, *History of Boston*, p. 242. Also, *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. xii, p. 387.

the logic of circumstances and events was pointing to the necessity of a more comprehensive educational plan, the essential principles of which had already been elsewhere declared and developed on American soil, that Massachusetts gave her adhesion to a system for general education equal to American needs, and essential to the safety of American States, based upon the principle of universal suffrage.

IN NEW YORK.

As the settlers of Massachusetts were Englishmen and exemplified the English educational policy, so the settlers of New York, or New Netherlands, as it was called, were Dutchmen, and acted upon the ideas which prevailed among their people.

As has been already observed, their country had a republican form of government. Each of the seventeen provinces which constituted the Republic of the Netherlands had a constitution of its own. The "free cities" of the Netherlands governed themselves. Self-government and popular education have ordinarily gone hand in hand and supported each other. Even in the fourteenth century the independence of the cities in the Netherlands fostered a desire for educational advantages, and led to common schools and universities. Nowhere in Europe were the circumstances so favorable as in north-western Germany and in the Netherlands. Schools were opened to the rich and poor, boys and girls alike, in most of the cities of the northern Netherlands, and in many of the towns of the southern part of the country. The teachers of kings and princes in other lands were commonly taken from the Netherlands.¹⁴ In 1525 Luther was commissioned by the Duke of Mansfield to establish two schools in his native town, *one for primary and the other for secondary instruction*. These became the models for others, and in a few years the Protestant portions of Germany were supplied with schools. His pupil and coadjutor Melancthon prepared a plan for a system of schools in Saxony in 1528 which covered both

¹⁴ Cramer's *History of Education in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages*.

primary and secondary instruction.¹⁵ In 1574 the people of Leyden raised the Spanish siege by letting in the water upon the neighboring plains, and as a memorial of the fact founded the University of Leyden.¹⁶ Following the Union of Utrecht in 1579 it was ordered that "the inhabitants of towns and villages should, within six weeks, find good and competent schoolmasters." Two years later it was further provided "that such as neglected to do this should be bound to receive the schoolmasters sent to them and provide the usual compensation."¹⁷ In 1618 the Synod of Dort urged that schools be organized in the country places as well as in the cities.¹⁸ The teachings of Calvin as well as of Luther had made great headway in Holland. May, in his work on *Democracy in Europe*, says of Holland: "The whole population was educated. The higher classes were singularly accomplished. The University of Leyden was founded for the learned education of the rich, and free schools were established for the general education of all."¹⁹ And Broadhead says that schools were everywhere provided, at the public expense, with good schoolmasters to instruct the children of all classes in the usual branches of education.²⁰

The first settlements upon the Hudson River were at a time of, and were the result of, unusual activity in all the affairs of the Netherland Republic. The Dutch soldiery had just driven back to Spain the armies of Philip, and the Dutch naval power (with 70,000 seamen, easily the first in the world) had driven Spanish commerce from the seas and so impoverished the Spanish King that he was glad to agree to a truce of twelve years, which commenced in 1609 and ended in 1621. It is worthy of note that the Plymouth Company went to Holland just at the beginning of this period, and left just before its termination. These twelve years witnessed an unusual

¹⁵ Painter's *History of Education*, pp. 147-152.

¹⁶ Fisher's *Outlines of Universal History*.

¹⁷ *Appleton's Encyclopedia*.

¹⁸ Boone's *Education in the United States*, p. 5.

¹⁹ May's *Democracy in Europe*, vol. ii, pp. 67-72.

²⁰ Broadhead's *History of New York*, vol. i, p. 462.

material and intellectual development in the Low Countries. Learning and commerce alike received a new impetus. Dutch vessels were upon every sea and controlled the carrying trade of the world. There was a new attempt to find a water route to the Indies, a new reaching out for other lands and added conquests. Thence came the settlement of New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, in a country which the settlers patriotically and lovingly called "New Netherland."

The settlers did not flee their country to escape its oppressions. They came with the approval of their government. They made no painful pretensions to superior honesty, but they bought and paid for Manhattan Island when they occupied it; and the charter from their government required them to satisfy the Indians for any additional lands they might desire.²¹ They cultivated honorable and amicable relations with the natives; they did not meet protests against robbery with brute force; the shotgun was not their chief instrument for converting Indians to the Christian faith. For many years they were few in numbers, poor in pocket, and quaint in manners. They were bluff, plain spoken, earnest, unpretentious, honest, and thrifty. They *did* things without so much talk about them. They brought their home ideas with them. Those ideas meant personal toil, self-reliance, self-responsibility, self-improvement, liberty of opinion, freedom of action, government by the people, and faith in God. They were by no means a people without religious principle. With a conception of life which embraced something besides piety and the formalities of public worship, they had a huge-clasped Dutch Bible in every home, and they set up churches and schools and brought over professional "dominies" and schoolmasters, just as early as it was in their power to do so.

Mr. Martin says, with emphasis, "There is not the faintest trace of Dutch influence in the early school history of Massachusetts." I agree with him. Upon the fullest investigation I fail to find any. The colonies of Massachusetts unquestionably got some ideas of civil government from the Dutch; but

²¹ *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. i, p. 97.

so far as schools were concerned they were operating upon an entirely different theory, and according to a widely different plan. However, the colony at the mouth of the Hudson was altogether under this Dutch influence, and its early educational history is full of it.

Although trading vessels from Holland visited the Hudson River each year after the discovery thereof in 1609, it was not until the winter of 1613-14, when one of these vessels was burned, and the crew was obliged to remain at Manhattan while building a yacht, that the first huts were erected there by Europeans. The merchants who had employed these trading vessels, encouraged by favorable reports of the country, associated themselves together under the name of "The United New Netherland Company," and in 1615 secured from the States-General the exclusive right of trade there for three years. At the end of three years the trade was thrown open to all, and many vessels previously excluded resorted thither for the purposes of trade. In 1621 a new and great company was chartered under the name of the Dutch West India Company "for the profit and increase of trade," although it was expected to promote colonization. It was two years after that date before operations were commenced. In 1623 thirty families were sent from Holland, eight being left at Manhattan and the remainder going to the neighborhood of Albany, where a settlement had in the meantime been effected. The Company had five branches in the principal cities of Holland, the managers of which were styled "Lords Directors." The branch at Amsterdam had charge of affairs at New Amsterdam. The general management of the Company was lodged in an assembly of nineteen delegates, and this assembly, with the approbation of the States-General, the legislative body of the Republic, appointed the Director General. There was also a Director in each colony. In 1625 forty-five new settlers were added to New Amsterdam, and in the following year there is the first appearance of organized government in the colony.

We know that in this year, 1626, two clergymen, Sebastian

Crol and John Huyck, served the little village of New Amsterdam, with probably less than one hundred souls, and the extent to which clergymen were accustomed to act as schoolmasters gives rise to the presumption that they did so in this case, although there is no positive proof of it.

In 1629 the West India Company decreed that all colonists "shall endeavor to find out ways and means whereby they may supply a minister and *schoolmaster*." This injunction was repeated in succeeding years.

Many times the colonists petitioned to the directors of the West India Company to send over ministers and professional schoolmasters. In 1633 the first professional schoolmaster came over in answer to these requests. From this time school was held, with some interruptions it is true, but with as much regularity as the feebleness and poverty of the settlers would permit, and with greater regularity than in some new settlements in our own time. Such records as there are frequently speak of *the* school and *the* schoolmaster, referring to the public school and the official schoolmaster. We find efforts to secure or improve school accommodations in 1642, 1647, 1652, 1656, and 1662.

While at the outset the affairs of the settlement were regulated by the West India Company, subject to the directions of the States-General, it was very early that the people demanded the right to manage their own affairs, and this right seems to have been conceded as soon as they were capable of self-subsistence and self-government. In 1647 the director and council, desirous "that the government at New Amsterdam might continue and increase in good order, justice, police, population, prosperity, and mutual harmony, and be provided with strong fortifications, a church, *a school*," etc., authorized the inhabitants to nominate eighteen of their best men from whom the council would select nine, "as is the custom in the Fatherland." Thus was constituted the "Council of Nine" representing the people.

In 1649 serious difficulties arose between the Council of Nine and the West India Company, in consequence of which

the former sent their president to The Hague to lay their grievances before the States-General. In their statement of grievances they say "they desire that the school be provided with at least *two* good schoolmasters, so that the school be instructed and trained, not only in reading and writing, but in the knowledge and fear of the Lord."²² The population had increased at this time to 700 or 800 people. The request was complied with, and in 1652 two schoolmasters were provided. Frequent entries in the records show that the attendance continually increased, and the school became more and more substantial as the circumstances of the settlers improved. As other settlements were effected, up the river or on Long Island, we uniformly find that they were supplied with schoolmasters.²³

I have been speaking of public schools and official schoolmasters. But these were not the only early schools at New Amsterdam. We know that prior to 1662 no less than ten persons, with the license of the authorities, kept schools upon their own account. We also know that the authorities of the town permitted no private schools to be kept by any but masters approved by them.

In 1658 a movement was set on foot to secure a school of academic grade, which soon resulted in a Latin school, and drew pupils from all the settlements up the river, and even from as far south as Virginia. Speaking of the arrival of the Latin master, Governor Stuyvesant and the council, in a letter to the directors, say, "We hope and confide that the community shall reap great benefits from it for their children, for which we pray that a bountiful God may vouchsafe his blessing." Mr. Martin seems to make much of the fact that the petition for the sending over of a Latin master stated that there was no Latin school nearer than Boston, but overlooks the fact that there had previously been a Latin school at New Amsterdam and also the other fact that there was no school at Plymouth and none but a Latin school at Boston, and that it received only a few of the brighter boys of the wealthier families, to prepare them for college and the ministry.

²² *Albany Records*, vol. xviii, pp. 19-20.

²³ Broadhead, *op. cit.*, p. 616.

These early Dutch schools were supported out of the common treasury. It is true that the colony was aided in its school affairs, as in all its affairs, by the West India Company, whose business and interest it was to promote colonization, but it is equally true that, aside from the assistance rendered for that purpose, *the schools were sustained out of the public moneys of the colony.*²⁴ In 1652 New Amsterdam was invested with municipal privileges, and, in the following year, agreed to support a schoolmaster entirely at the expense of the city. When municipal privileges were granted to outlying towns, the grant of power embraced the authority to establish schools;²⁵ and when new villages were laid out it was customary to reserve lots for public buildings, among which the schoolhouse was uniformly named.²⁶ In 1650 the secretary of the colony, in answer to the complaint of the settlers, reported to the States-General that "the youth are not in want of schools, to the extent of the circumstances of the country." Again he said: "'Tis true there is no Latin school or academy. If the Commonalty require such they can apply for it, and furnish the necessary funds."²⁷

Schoolmasters were included under the head of "necessary officers" in the public documents of the colony from the earliest period. The highest civil law to which the colony was subject, from the time it was founded, required that for the support of schools "each householder and inhabitant should bear such tax and public charge as should be considered proper for their maintenance."²⁸ In many instances the council took proceedings against persons refusing to pay for the support of schools, exacted payment, and punished the delinquents.²⁹

²⁴ Dunshee, *School of the Collegiate Dutch Church*, p. 32.

²⁵ O'Callaghan, *Laws of New Netherland*, pp. 476-480.

²⁶ *New York Colonial MSS.*, vol. vi, p. 106.

²⁷ *New York Colonial Documents*, i, p. 424.

²⁸ *New York Colonial Documents*, vol. i, p. 112.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 672-714, 720-730.

NEW YORK UNDER ENGLISH RULE.

It is therefore perfectly clear that it was the well-settled policy at New Amsterdam to maintain free elementary schools supported entirely by taxation, and there is every reason to suppose that the same would have continued to this time without interruption, had not the government of Old England, with the help of New England, overthrown it. Determined upon a conquest of New Netherland, the English government sent four war vessels with three companies of the King's veterans to accomplish that end. This force first landed at Boston and demanded military assistance; then, sailing for New Amsterdam, the fleet soon anchored at the entrance of the harbor. Here it was joined by the New England militia. In the presence of this formidable force, and without help from the Fatherland, the little Dutch settlement of less than 1500 people had no recourse but submission.²⁸

It is noticeable, however, that the Dutch conditioned their capitulation upon pledges that they should continue in the possession of their property, the exercise of their religion, and their freedom as citizens.

With the dominance of the English government came the English educational theories and policy—high schools for the few, no schools for the people. There is no space here to treat of facts in detail. With only a temporary interruption, the English government exercised control over this territory from 1664 down to the Revolution. No one can show any act or any disposition on the part of that government, during that century, to promote popular education in New York. The Dutch continued their local schools so far as they could, in the absence of help from and even against the opposition of the government.

The Dutch were dominant in the colonial legislature much of this time, and on many occasions attempted legislation in the interest of schools, only to be met with the censure or stopped by the veto of the English governor, who was the creature of the English crown. The colonial statutes of this

²⁸ Winsor's *Critical History of America*, vol. iii, p. 391.

hundred years will be searched in vain for enactments establishing or encouraging primary instruction, although they will reveal two laws under which Latin schools were established for brief periods in the city of New York. It is noticeable that these two acts provided that the expense of these schools should be met by a common tax or out of public moneys. These were the acts of the General Assembly, a majority of which were Dutch or of Dutch extraction and sympathies. The first was objected to by the Governor and Council until amended so as to enable the latter to control the appointment and action of teachers. The other only extended public support to a Latin school which already existed.

The only educational act during the century of English domination in the colony of New York for which the English government is entitled to any credit, is that establishing King's (now Columbia) College. How much credit it deserves for this step is pointedly stated in a letter from the governor to the English government when a royal charter was requested, wherein he says: "It therefore seems highly requisite that a seminary on the principles of the Church of England be *distinguished in America by particular privileges*, not only on account of religion, but of good policy, *to prevent the growth of republican principles*, which already too much prevail in the colonies."

SOME COMPARISONS.

It is submitted that it has been shown that our common school system, *i. e.*, schools for the common welfare and the public security, supported by public moneys, managed by public officers, in which all the people have common rights, and which are free from whatever may offend conscience or abridge those rights, originated with the Dutch rather than the English, and first came from the Old Netherlands into the New Netherlands, and not from Old England into New England.

Having established so much, it only remains to refer to the foregoing and make some comparisons of facts that are too well authenticated to be disputed, in order to see whether Mr.

Martin's claim that as to compulsory education, compulsory schools, compulsory certification of teachers, compulsory supervision, compulsory taxation, compulsory attendance, "Massachusetts took each of these steps in advance of the other States, a little in advance of her sister States in New England, far in advance of all the others," is justified.

1. *Compulsory Education*.—By this phrase Mr. Martin must mean the compelling of individuals to educate children under their care, without reference to public schools. This is not the accepted meaning of the phrase. It has been shown in this paper, however, that even before there was any organized government at New Amsterdam, and frequently thereafter, injunctions and directions concerning this matter, by authority and with all the force of law, antedated any action whatever upon the subject either in Massachusetts or on the part of the government to which both of the colonies in that territory owed allegiance.

2. *Compulsory Schools*.—By this he must mean that the towns and villages were *first* compelled to maintain schools in Massachusetts. The claim is not sustained by the facts. Up to the time of the English conquest of New Amsterdam there was a common school, supported by public moneys, taught by an official schoolmaster, and open to all children, in almost constant operation there. As other villages were founded, other schools were opened. Certainly a dozen private schools, taught by approved masters, are known to have existed on Manhattan Island in the meantime. During the first fifty years of the history of the Plymouth Colony, although twelve villages had in the meantime been settled, there was no school of any kind in the colony. Save Latin schools, open to a few boys who were sons of the comparatively wealthy, and who were preparing for the ministry or for the public service, there were no public schools in either of the Massachusetts colonies for one hundred and fifty years after they were first settled. It is idle to point to resolutions and talk about *compulsory* schools, when there were no schools for the common people.

3. *Compulsory Certification of Teachers.*—I am at a loss to know what this phrase was intended to mean. In any event there has never been any real and independent certification of teachers in Massachusetts, compulsory or otherwise. No one representing the State can confer authority to teach in her schools, or prevent a person from teaching. Even a normal school diploma has no legal value. In all the cities and towns the power to certify and the power to employ teachers are lodged in the same hands. Men who hold the double power, and desire to employ a candidate, will be likely to decide that he is morally sound and intellectually competent, in Massachusetts as elsewhere. There is really no certifying of teachers, in Massachusetts, as that term is understood in modern school administration. In this year, 1892, there is no more of it there on principle, and probably not so much in practice, than there was at New Amsterdam when Peter Stuyvesant was governor.

Any adequate system of certifying teachers must be administered by professional authority, specially chosen for that purpose, without the power of employing, and removed from local whims, interests, and antagonisms. This is the plan upon which New York has been operating for eighty years. As early as 1812 the law required towns to elect commissioners who should manage the schools and employ teachers, and also inspectors, who should have nothing to do with employing, but who should examine and certify teachers, and be paid for the service. Upon this general plan there are difficulties enough. Without it the certification of teachers is of small value, and talk about the "compulsory certification of teachers," seems a play upon words.

In connection with the matter of qualifications of teachers it may be of interest to add, that New York commenced to appropriate money for training teachers in 1827, while Massachusetts did not begin till 1839, and then only under the incentive of a private offer of ten thousand dollars on condition that the State would give a like amount.

4. *Compulsory Supervision.*—This phrase is also misleading.

There is no *compulsory* supervision of schools in Massachusetts. No city or town is required by law to appoint a superintendent. Wherever it is done it is voluntarily done, and may be discontinued at any moment. Moreover, there has been no supervision, compulsory, voluntary, or otherwise, until comparatively recent years, and until the trend of events west of the Berkshires made that course necessary if Massachusetts was to keep in sight of the procession.

In 1812, New York created the office of State Superintendent of Common Schools, with authority to *superwise*. She has continued and constantly strengthened the office ever since. Not till 1837 did Massachusetts create a State Board of Education, with authority to do what no one objects to. It may collect statistics and report them to the Legislature. It may appoint a secretary to keep its records and deliver lectures to teachers and others provided they will "voluntarily assemble." It may hold a teachers' institute, but not until "satisfied that fifty teachers of public schools desire to unite in forming one." But neither this Board nor any of its officers or agents can remove an officer for maladministration, or regulate the licensing of a teacher, or protect the rights of a teacher, or drive a teacher from the service for immorality or incompetency, or require an unfit schoolhouse to be replaced with a better, or compel the local authorities to supply it with needed furniture and appliances, or direct the levying of taxes for school purposes, or do any other one of the thousand things which experience has shown to be necessary to healthful and vigorous school administration.

As already observed, there is no compulsory local supervision of schools in Massachusetts. What voluntary supervision there is came very slowly, although it came in good form when it did come. Town commissioners and town inspectors were created in New York in 1812. The latter were paid officers with general supervisory powers. Even the town committees of Massachusetts, which had no such powers, were not provided for until 1826. *Supervision is not supervision at all unless it is by professionals.* Not until 1860 were cities and towns authorized

to appoint superintendents. They have never been compelled to appoint them. In 1888 an admirable provision for uniting towns under one superintendent was introduced into the law. But there is no feature of the whole system of supervising schools in the Bay State which was not set in operation at an earlier date somewhere else.

5. *Compulsory Taxation.*—The only provision which I can see in the law of Massachusetts concerning taxation for school purposes, is that the towns shall raise “such sums of money for the support of schools *as they judge necessary.*” This is not very *compulsory*. No general State tax is levied for schools. In New York, as early as 1795, the State commenced raising \$100,000 per year for distribution among the towns, and required—not authorized—each town to raise half as much by local taxation as its share amounted to. It has continued to assert the same principle ever since. The State School fund was established in New York in 1805; in Massachusetts in 1834. The system in New York is a State system. The State decides what must be done. It compels the great cities to help the weak towns, and it empowers its State Department of Public Instruction to require the laying of any local taxes necessary to supply continuous and ample school facilities. I see nothing of this kind in the educational laws of Massachusetts.

6. *Compulsory Attendance.*—In 1853, and again in 1874, New York passed compulsory attendance laws. Neither was effectual. Her educators are now earnestly trying to secure a better. Massachusetts passed her attendance act in 1873. It is claimed that it is successfully administered. It provides for attendance, for twenty weeks of each school year, by children between eight and fourteen years. After a somewhat extended inquiry I have found no instance where such a law was successful unless it provided that, within fixed ages, all children should attend school at all times when public schools are in session. Therefore, while compelled to doubt, I cannot dispute the claim. The desire to find something which may be conceded leads me, for the sake of argument, to admit so

much. But though Massachusetts may have been more successful than her sister States in compelling attendance upon the schools, it is not true that she commenced earlier than some others. It is quite possible that her circumstances have not been as difficult or troublesome as others have encountered.

It thus appears that the six steps which Massachusetts lays down as the distinguishing marks of progress in the development of the public school system have not been taken by her "far in advance of all the rest." By her own measure she is, in this regard, under size. Her over-loyal sons have told the story, so many times, in flowing and heroic numbers, that her people believe it. And some others do also. The facts are with New York. All she needs is the help of Massachusetts men to tell the story.

Upon one or two occasions she has had that help. In one of his lectures Horace Mann, then secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education, fell into the common habit of his people when he said, "There is not a single State in the Union whose whole system is at all comparable to that of Massachusetts." But when he saw it in cold type he drew back and starred a footnote, in which he said, "I believe this statement to have been strictly true at the time it was written (1841). But, in some respects, it is no longer true. *As it regards efficiency, and the means of rapid improvement, to say no more, the system of the State of New York now takes precedence of any in the Union.*" Then he pleaded for an extension of the New York plan to Massachusetts. In his annual report to the State Board in 1845 he said, "*The great State of New York is carrying forward the work of public education more rapidly than any other State in the Union, or any other country in the world.*" His manifest disposition to correct an error and do justice to others should commend itself to the present generation. If what he said was true fifty years ago, it is none the less so now. Indeed, it would not be difficult to point out the reasons which make it more emphatically true now.

The fact is that the Massachusetts sentiment, which leaves

schools entirely to the support and control of towns, no matter whether they are broad-minded, well-to-do, and generous, or ignorant and poor, is opposed to the best and enduring interests of the school system. The American policy places the support and management of schools not upon the general government, not upon counties or cities or towns or districts, but upon the several States. Towns have no original power of legislation or of taxation; States have. The experience of the world must be carried to every corner of the commonwealth. The strong must help the weak, not only in methods, but also in means. States alone can secure this, for it depends upon the intelligent and independent exercise of the great powers of legislation and taxation which the States alone possess.

It may be said that this discussion is of no avail, no matter what the facts are. Not so. The educational workers of no two States have more respect for each other than those of Massachusetts and New York. None of this respect is likely to be lost. Even more. We know what makes Massachusetts great. "There is her history. The world knows it by heart." And the world respects and honors it as well. But there are other great States. And there are things in their history which have made them great. It is meet that they should possess what belongs to them. The deeds of the fathers are an invaluable heritage. The educational history of New York, from the very beginning, is full of great deeds, of most broad-minded and far-reaching acts. She has never been behind others. She has never had the credit which is her due. The people of this great State must know, and must have just pride in the wise and heroic leadership of the fathers, that it may be an incentive for the present and an inspiration in the future.

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HISTORIC NOTES ON THE BROOKLINE HIGH SCHOOL

I WISH at the outset to express my thanks to Mr. B. F. Baker for his kind assistance in the preparation of the following sketch. The plan of founding a High School in Brookline was first brought before the citizens in 1840, by the Rev. William H. Shailer, at that time the pastor of the Baptist Church, who had been chosen a member of the School Committee in 1838, only a few months after he had come to our town to assume his pastoral charge. Realizing the importance of establishing a school of a higher grade than then existed here, he sought to interest the citizens in his plans as early as 1840, but although aided by the hearty support of the Rev. Dr. Pierce, who was then chairman of the board, and by many of the townspeople, he was not at once successful in his efforts.

However, at a meeting of the town held on April 5, 1841, it was "Voted, That it is expedient for the Town to have a High School," and a committee, consisting of "Samuel Goddard, Daniel Sanderson, Dr. Samuel A. Shurtleff, Dea. Thomas Griggs, Charles Stearns, Jr., Abijah W. Goddard and Samuel Philbrick, to which was afterwards added Captain Isaac Cook and David R. Griggs," was appointed to investigate the subject of opening a Classical School, and to report at an adjourned meeting.

Whether this committee found themselves unable to agree, is not clear. Not being prepared to give the result of their deliberations at the Town Meeting in May, 1841, they were instructed to do so at a meeting to be held in the following November; but when that meeting called for their report (Nov. 8), they still were not ready, "owing to the indisposition of their chairman." On the 21st of the following March (1842), the town decided the case for them, and "Voted, That the subject of a High School be indefinitely postponed."

But the friends of the enterprise were not satisfied with this action, and on the 3d of April, 1843, succeeded in carrying the following vote: "Resolved, That we establish a school in the centre of the Town, which shall be taught during the year by a male teacher, qualified to give instruction in such branches as the General School Committee may deem it advisable to have taught in said school." Here we have the birthday of the High School.

It will be seen that this vote was carefully drawn, and while not specifically ordering that the proposed new school should be what is known as a "High School," it left the matter in the hands of the board without restrictions as to the studies to be taught, and steps were immediately taken to open a Classical School in accordance with the plans of Dr. Shailer and his associates.

Their action evidently met with popular approval, for so many sought to avail themselves of the advantages offered, that on August 17, of the same year, Mr. Shailer presented a report at a Town Meeting, which showed so forcibly the urgent demand for enlarged accommodations, in consequence of the interest manifested by the citizens, that it was voted to "appropriate the Town Hall" (then the stone building still standing on Walnut street, near the First Parish Church), "for the further accommodation of the High School," and the board were given "full powers to cause the necessary alterations" to adapt it to that purpose. Three hundred dollars was the sum deemed sufficient to carry out the plans which they submitted, and in November the committee reported that they had done the work at a cost of \$281.67.

Four years afterward, the venerable Dr. Pierce, after serving on the board for fifty years, declined a reelection, and Mr. Shailer succeeded him as chairman. He held that position until he left Brookline in March, 1847, and under his fostering care the school continued to grow and prosper. Of his subsequent labors in the cause of education in Portland, Me., where he was at once elected a member of the School Committee of that city, serving until his death in 1881, this is not the place to speak. It is sufficient to say that they elicited the warmest tribute to his memory from those with whom he was so long associated.

The school continued to assemble in the building on Walnut street until 1856. On the 31st of October of that year the schoolhouse on Prospect street was dedicated with appropriate services. The late Hon. Thomas Parsons, chairman of the building committee, as the Town Report of 1857 tells us, delivered the keys of the house to the Rev. Dr. Stone, then chairman of the School Committee, "in a neat and pertinent address, which was responded to by the latter gentleman in his usual happy and appropriate manner." The programme of the exercises shows that a passage from the Book of Proverbs was also read, and an ode was sung, presumably composed for the occasion. One of these programmes has recently come to

light, and is preserved in the library at the new High School building. For a full account of that very interesting event, however, I must refer the reader to the Report itself.

The cost of the building was \$13,500. In the judgment of the time the rooms were "all admirably ventilated, both at the top and bottom. . . . The house is constructed after the most approved plan, and is believed to be unsurpassed by any of the same size in the Commonwealth . . . and in an architectural point of view, is an ornament to the town. It was occupied on Monday, Nov. 3." The whole number of scholars in the second term, when the dedication took place, was 44—27 boys and 17 girls, and the average daily percentage of attendance then, as now, was very high, being 96 per cent.

It would be interesting to trace the growth of the school from its small beginnings to its present crowded rooms, with its large colony at the Bethany, itself more than double the number of those who first entered here thirty-nine years ago ; to speak of the large additions to its excellent corps of teachers which have marked that period ; and to tell of the service it has rendered to the Town, the Commonwealth and the Nation. But space forbids me to enlarge. Fortunately, the salient points of its history have been admirably told by one who long led its pupils in the pleasant paths of learning, and the likeness of whose face—so familiar to every High School pupil,—will, we hope, look down from the wall of our new home with that friendly greeting of welcome and encouragement which will always be remembered by those who have sat at his feet in the days that have passed. Not the least pleasant fact of all that will contribute to our rejoicing, as we dedicate that building, will be the knowledge that we still have with us one who has watched the growth of our school from its infancy to its sturdy manhood, and who has given the best years of his life to its service.

"Serus in cælum redeat."

W. T. R. MARVIN.



THE SAGAMORE

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FROM a standpoint of importance, the coming year will prove very eventful in the career of THE SAGAMORE. Last year, when the paper was started, its characteristics were well defined, and the enthusiasm of the school amply sufficed to give the support necessary to a new undertaking. This year it remains for the school (and by the school we refer to each individual in the school) to show that the enthusiasm of last year was not a passing pleasure over a new plaything, but a lasting determination to make THE SAGAMORE a permanent, beneficial, as well as a pleasure-deriving feature of our school. Of all the opportunities which the High School offers, there is none, we may safely assert, which presents a better chance for self-development than does THE SAGAMORE. Let us hope that the pupils of the High School will unite in the resolution to make the most of their opportunities, and to make THE SAGAMORE a stronger paper than ever before.

THE completion of the new High School building is a landmark in the history of the school. THE SAGAMORE celebrates the auspicious occasion by devoting a large part of its first issue of the school year to the event. Some of those who have been officially most interested in the planning and construction of the building, help us to celebrate its occupation by describing it and by recounting the history behind it. These writers speak for the school officers; it is our privilege to say a word in behalf of the pupils. They fully appreciate the gain to them, in moving from their old quarters,—cramped and inconvenient they certainly have been,—into this large and spacious structure, complete with the most modern improvements, and comparing favorably with the very best school buildings in the country or in the world.

No doubt some of the older scholars will feel some regret in abandoning the rooms in which they have passed many pleasant hours, and which are endeared to them by association. But, natural as this feeling is, it will quickly give place to the joy of greater comfort and the pride of such splendid surroundings. Besides all the advantages of the building itself, we recognize its situation as most happily chosen. Standing face to face with the playgrounds, all the athletic contests of the future will take place before our doors, and it will be our privilege to invite the visiting teams to come in and see how generously the people of Brookline provide for their High School, and to make use of gymnasium and lavatories. It will be easy to make sure that all visiting teams, whether they are victorious or not, carry away pleasant impressions of the school.

The students of the High School heartily appreciate the generous spirit in which the tax-payers of Brookline have responded to the demands for larger and better accommodations and facilities. Recognition of that spirit will inspire them to harder and better work. Let us strive to make the High School in every way worthy of its beautiful new building!



HIGH SCHOOL REMINISCENCES

BY BURT G. WILDER, M. D., CLASS OF '59

V. How the Writer Tried to Circumvent Nature, and Failed

AT my visit to the school last June I caught a glimpse of the small front room on the first floor, which in my day contained the chemical and physical apparatus. Whatever signs of its present function may have met my eyes, my mental vision now recognizes only a scene of nearly forty years ago, namely, the dissection of a cat by the light of literal "midnight oil." And since this is probably one of the few gruesome incidents associated with the building now soon to be vacated by the school, and since it stands for a serious error, the confession of which may benefit others, the circumstances shall be briefly stated.

On reëntering in the fall of 1857, to prepare for a course in Comparative Anatomy under Professor Jeffries Wyman at the Lawrence Scientific School, my regular studies were confined to Latin and Greek. They, with some outside attention to music, occupied all the daytime and the early part of the evening. But I longed to begin "real work" in my chosen vocation and in the winter devised an assignment of the twenty-four hours which seemed to me both original and commendable. For an hour before breakfast I read Agassiz's "Essay on Classification" in his then just published "Contributions to the Natural History of the United States." At the age of 16, and densely ignorant of many of the forms and topics therein considered, I probably understood little, but the opinion of Mr. James E. Mills (then one of Agassiz's assistants) and my personal admiration for the writer led me to regard the work as a sort of scientific Scripture, the perusal of which, irrespective of such a petty detail as mere literal comprehension, must surely confer advantageous inspiration. That conviction has not been shaken by subsequent modifications of some of the doctrines of the great naturalist, but I should now qualify myself for a similar "rite" by means of a glass of milk or other corporeal nourishment.

The day thus auspiciously begun was passed as already indicated. Then, when wiser boys went to rest, I sought the schoolhouse, entered with a key loaned by Mr. Hoar, hung and lit a lamp over a special table, with a lantern found the "subject" in the basement, and so pursued practical anatomy until one or two in the morning.

Of course, I learned a good deal, and for some time felt sure that the scheme was a great success, and lamented the precious hours previously lost in unprofitable slumber.


Suddenly a halt was called. Not by parents or teachers as, with fuller knowledge of hygiene, would occur at the present day, but by outraged Nature. I collapsed, and for some weeks was compelled to cease study altogether. In the end it is certain nothing had been gained by my scientific dissipation. Indeed, I have an uneasy suspicion that it may have disturbed permanently my mental and physical development: that but for it my five feet nine might have been six feet, and that I might have been more capable in various ways.

However that may be, I feel warranted in warning my over-ambitious successors in the High School against trying to escape natural limitations by "burning the candle at both ends" with the most innocent or even laudable motives.

According to my later observations, for one student who sleeps too much there are a score who fancy that time in bed is time wasted. Granting many and real exceptions, the brain-worker should not assume that he can do full justice to himself, or be most useful to the world, with less than eight hours of sleep. If it cannot be gained during the night the deficiency should be made up after the noon meal if possible.



On Friday, October 18th, the school was favored with a short address by Dr. H. L. Chase, a graduate of the school. Dr. Chase showed the plans of a public bath-house which it is proposed to erect near the Brookline playground. If the plans are carried out, there will be excellent facilities for bathing close to the playgrounds and near the centre of the town. The water supply will be the purest obtainable, and efficient teachers will be provided to instruct youth in swimming. The tank will measure 26x80 feet, and will have a maximum depth of 7 feet, and a minimum of 3 feet. Shower-baths and dressing-rooms will be provided. In winter, when the swimming-tank is not in use, it is proposed to board it over and utilize the space as a gymnasium or a drill hall.



AN OLD DIARY*

EDITED BY MISS ELLEN CHASE

1784

Tuesday made Sausages..... Thursday made mince pyes to send to Portsmouth..... Saturday Christmas Day,† my Aunt Heath, my ma-ma, Ebby & I went to trinity Church in the forenoon, did a few errands afterward. Went to my Grandfather's to drink tea. The text in Luke 1st Chapter & 77th 78th 79th verses.....

Wednesday, [December 29] my Uncle Heath, Aunt Heath & my mama went with a number, 16 in the whole, in three double Sleighs as far as Waltham Plains,‡ about 10 miles, drink't Tea at Willington's tavern, got home about half past 12. Nabby Gardner spent the Afternoon & Ev'ning here.

1785

Sunday, January 2nd.....very stormy..... Monday about two Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. Goddard, Miss Hannah, my Uncle Heath, my ma-ma & I, set out for Portsmouth, went about 27 miles, lodg'd at Putnams in Danvers, got to Portsmouth Tuesday night, between 7 & 8 o'clock. Wednesday, just before Dinner, Miss Hannah, Betsey & I, went out & walk'd round, about an hour in the Afternoon, Mr. Goddard, my Uncle Heath, Doct. Goddard, my ma-ma, Mrs. Goddard, Miss Hannah, Betsey & I, went about 3 miles out of town drink'd tea at Mr. Parks, got back..... about 7 o'clock. Thursday morning sat out, rode about 37 miles lodg'd at Adams in Ipswich Hamlet, got home just before Sundown..... Saturday.....went to Mr. Nehemiah Davis's§ funeral.....

Wednesday, [January 12] Polly Aspinwall Work'd here..... Fry-day.....went up to my Aunt Crafts just before Night Stai'd till nine o'clock. Saturday.....went down to see Polly Downer.....

* Begun in the January number.

† "Friday last [Christmas Eve] a Countryman stole a Turkey from another Countryman in the market, and after the Thief was detected, and the owner got possession of his Turkey, the culprit was made to set on a Horse in the Square for about ten minutes, in the midst of hundreds of spectators, in order that he might be known, preferable to his being carried before a magistrate."—*Boston Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1784.

‡ "The lots situated west of Beaver Brook, were called the lots in the Further Plain, sometimes called the Great Plain—in later times Waltham Plain.—*Genealogies and History of Watertown*. HENRY BOND, M. D., 1855.

§ Mr. Nehemiah Davis died January 5th, 1785, aged 78 years.

Monday, [January 17] Mrs. Waters & her Baby spent the Afternoon here..... Wednesday..... Ebby carried.... Sarah to the Doct'rs & we went with him. Staid about an hour at Mrs. Curtiss, went to Mr. Sam Heaths & staid. Call'd for Sarah, got home a little after twelve..... Thursday..... spent the afternoon at Mr. Bill Dudley's. My mama & I stopt at my Grandfathers* at Night to stay. Ebby come down in the Chaise & carried us to meeting. Mrs. Davenport & Anna Phillibrown there the afternoon we come away, the Doct'r in there a few times, we come home Wednesday night. Mr. Jackson din'd here the Saturday after we went away.

Wednesday night Ebby went to see Mr. Williams..... Fryday, my Aunt Heath, my mama went with Mrs. Ackers to Mr. Coreys. Mrs.

* Deacon Crafts' house yet stands on Tremont street, near the Brookline line. The land was granted in 1639 by the town of Boston to Thomas Ruggles. It remained in that name for two generations, passing by agreement from John Ruggles, 2d, to Dea. Crafts' father, a relative, both being grandsons of Griffin Craft, the emigrant. Back of the house is the orchard where all the celebrated Roxbury russets originated (although in Drake's "*Roxbury*" claim is made for the Warren farm) — some of the apple trees measure now more than 12 ft. in circumference. — "*Homes of Our Forefathers*," WHITEFIELD.

In 1739 Nancy's grandfather purchased of Richard Champion, schoolmaster, for the sum of £100, an eleven-year-old slave named Dinah. For sixty years she faithfully served those who claimed her allegiance, and was greatly esteemed by the family. At her death, aged 75, in 1804, "Aunt White" wrote a poem to her memory. Deacon Crafts had previously bought ("for £105," Drake) a negro girl named Flora, and Miss Woods puts on record a letter from her former master as under: "Sr, I am sorey you did not Lett me see you yesterday. I perseve you still meet with trouble with the negro which I am Exceeding Sorey to hear as I told you at your houses I intended you no harme but good. I did bye you as I wold be done by & I still intend to do by you as I wold be done by if I ware in your Caess, but however you must think as to the Sale of the Negro it is by means of selling her to you for it is all over town that your discurege and wold give ten pounds to have me take her agane. I apperehend I had better give you twenty pounds than ever you had been consarned with her I wold not a thanked anybody to have given me an hundred pounds for her that morning befor you carred her away but however seeing it is as it is, we must do as well as we can I wold have you consult with the Justes and Consider my case aliso and do by me aliso you wold be done by, if I had your money as the Justeses bond I should be under the same consarn that I am now pray Lett me see you if you please and if we can accomodate the matter to both our Satisfactun I shall be verrey free in the matter that is if I hear no Reflexions for I do declare I was sennere in the whole mater. from yours to Serve, EBENEZER DORR. January the 6, 1735-6. — *Miss Woods' Sketches of Brookline*."

Drake tells us Deacon Ebenezer Craft is remembered in 1775 as reading aloud one verse at a time of the psalm or hymn, which the choir would sing, and then wait till he had read another. He met with a fall in 1779, and in his latter years became blind. His married son Daniel, therefore, lived at the old homestead and carried on the farm, until his sudden death in 1787, aged 35 years. He is the Uncle Daniel, Betsy so often mentions as staying with them for Sunday dinner.

An Inventory of his estate is given in the "*Crafts Family*," which includes: "Four fatt oxen £24-10; a pair of working oxen £14." 4 fatt cows, 3 other cows. A large & small horse, mare & "coalit." 3 Swine. An Ox, & horse cart, "Chaise Slay & tackling £6." Salt hay on the marshes, casks & vinegar in the Vinegar house, cheese press in Corn Barn, Flax brake, Riding Saddle, ox sled, Stilyards. And Indoors — 6 green winsor chairs, 6 maple slit-back chairs, mahogany tea table, 2 firelocks & "acutrements." Blue coat & brown do. Claret Coat, Velvet Jacket, Wilton Coat, brown Jacket, Scarlet do., Silver Watch 40s, Shoe knee & stock Buckels, Sleeve buttons & Spurs. Chest of Drawers, Trundle Bed, 2 under beds. "Puter on the Shelves" 50s Tinware 5s Brass 6s Hollowware 20s Chaifin Dish, toster and Spit 6s 2 pr of hand irons. Shovel & tongs 15s brass candle sticks & warming pan 12s China Dish & Glassware 28s. Cyder & Casks £9 Appels & pairs £19. A total of £407.14s.0d. Nov. 27, 1787.

It is interesting to find Daniel Crafts' daughter, Abigail, married in 1811, John Hayden of Cambridge, and that their eldest grandchild, Julia Gorham Hayden, became the wife of the distinguished architect, Henry Hobson Richardson. — "*Crafts Family*."

JOS. WILLIAMS, Appraiser.

Jackson there & Lucy Dinsdel of Roxbury..... Ebby was a-Skating in the Afternoon with a number. They all Stopt in here as they come home & drink'd Gingdered Cyder.....

Wednesday, Snow'd, Lecture-Day but did not go..... Saturday my Aunt Heath, my mama, Ebby & I went to Polly Downer's* funeral.....

Tuesday.....Capt. Heath & his wife & Mrs. Ruggles spent Afternoon here.....

Monday, [February 14] the Doct'r here to see Sarah, Mr. Knights lodg'd here. Tuesday I went in a Double Sleigh with Sally Jackson & Nabby Gardner to Roxbury to see Mrs. Mears, there went a number out of Brookline, a number from Boston, & a number in Roxbury, about 70 people in the whole. Went away about 3 o'clock, got home about two—had cold meat supper..... Fryday.....Ned Brewer.....spent Ev'ning here.....

Tuesday, [February 22] My Aunt Heath & I spent afternoon at Mr. Hyslops, one Polly Chauncey from Boston there. Mr. Williams here when we got home.....

Tuesday, [March 1] My Aunt Heath & I spent the Afternoon down at Mrs. Jacksons, Mrs. Moses White, Mr. Duick,† Polly Williams, Mrs. Greateon & her daughter (Mrs. Heath).....

Tuesday, [March 15] Mrs. Meriam spent the Day here with her Baby... Fryday, Ebby & I caired Cate up to my Aunt Crafts.....

Sunday, March 20.....my Aunt Heath watch'd with my Aunt Crafts the first watch..... Fryday.....my Aunt Heath went up to watch.....did not come home till the next day.....

Sunday, March 27.....rode in a Sleigh... Fryday my Aunt Heath, Bill & I went up to my Aunt Crafts, my Aunt Heath stays & watches, my Aunt Jerusha rides home with us..... Saturday morning, my Uncle Craft brings my Aunt Heath home, carries my Aunt Jerusha up there.....

Sunday, April 3, went to Meeting, rode in a Chaise for the first time since last fall..... Wednesday.....Mr. Williams, his (oldest) Brother, Enoch Corey & Ben Davis spent Ev'ning here. Thursday, Fast Day, April 7th went to meeting.....

*"Baptisms Dec'r. 25, 1768, Mary, the daughter of Ellphalet Downer & — his wife."—*Roxbury Church Records. City Document No. 114.*

† Perhaps the Benjamin Duick, victualler, mentioned by Drake as moving to Roxbury in 1766 "from Brookline or Cambridge."—*History Roxbury.*

Sunday, April 10.....Ebby carried my Aunt Heath up to watch with my Aunt Craft, came home next morning..... Thursday, Mr. Davenport, Mrs. B. Brewer, Mrs. Peirce & Mr. Hancock spent Ev'ning here..... Adam staid here all night. Fryday, my Aunt Heath & I went up to see my Aunt Craft. Saturday.....Ebby carried my Aunt.....up to watch.....

She come Sabbath morning, did not go to meeting in the forenoon. I walk'd..... Wednesday I carried my Aunt Heath up.....She watch'd.....Wednesday night & part of Thursday night. Kezia Spear come here before Dinner & staid till Night. Saturday, Kezia Spear here in the morning, my Uncle Heath & Aunt went up to my Uncle Crafts* in the afternoon. My Aunt Died about Quarter past Eleven.....

Monday, [April 25] My Aunt Heath & I went to Boston to buy Mourning, got back again by Noon. Joseph Jackson here a few minutes in the Afternoon, Miss Hannah Goddard here a few minutes at night. Tuesday, my Aunt Jerusha here a few minutes. My mama went up to my Uncle Crafts about Noon. My Uncle & Aunt Heath, & Ebby & I went to the Funeral, 23 Chaise there, 20 of them went to the Grave. Wednesday, no body here. Thursday, Mr. Williams & Elisha Gardner here a few minutes.....

Sunday, May 1.....my Aunt Heath watch'd with Hannah Gardner....

[May 10] Tuesday night my mama watch'd with Hannah Gardner..... Thursday, my Aunt Heath & my mama went to Boston bought Lutestring Gowns for Betsey & me. Olive Calico for my Aunt Heath & a number of other things.....

Tuesday, [17th] Nabby Corey & Sally spent Afternoon here. Mr. Williams & Elisha Gardner Drank tea and spent Ev'ning with the Ladies, & Enoch Corey likewise..... Thursday morning Betsey Shed came here, my ma-ma, Betsey Shed & I went up to Mrs. Whites in the Ev'ning..... Fryday Ev'ning.....at Mrs. Ackers. When we got home, found a number here with their Flutes.....

*Nancy's Uncle Caleb Craft was born in Roxbury, 1741; he marched with the Brookline Minutemen Apr. 19, 1775, as 1st Lieut., and remained in the service until 1779. He married in 1766, Eleanor White, daughter of Benjamin and Sarah (Aspinwall) White, and went to house-keeping on Newton street. This house still stands, having been erected by Vincent Drusse, between 1660 and 1670. In 1791 Lt. Craft bought this farm of his father, but in 1812 he left it to his son Samuel, and moved to his South St. home, which he occupied until his death (1826) and left to his son Caleb. Lt. Craft's first wife died, aged 39, in 1785. He married Sarah Sharp, daughter of Robert and Sarah (Payson) Sharp of Brookline, the following year. She died in 1810, and he married two years later Jerusha White, sister of his first wife. She lived to be 89, dying in 1838.—*Crafts Family*.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Subscriptions to THE SAGAMORE may begin with any number. Price, one year, by mail, one dollar, payable in advance to Mr. F. H. Proctor, 100 Davis Ave., Brookline.

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Mrs. Brayton-Valise, in "Points About the Flour of the Family," Boston Household, August, 1895.

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Historic Elements

IN

Virginia Education and Literary Effort.

*A paper read before the Virginia Historical Society
Monday, December 21st, 1891.*

BY

PROFESSOR JOHN BELL HENNEMAN, M. A., Ph.D.,
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The key to Virginia's intellectual past, and consequently to her after development, lies in large measure in what science teaches is true of individuals—and, as we might infer, also of a collection of individuals, like the State—namely, the principles of heredity and environment. What is the origin of Virginia's people? What are the sources of her various race-elements? and how has the further history of these elements been affected and modified by climatic conditions, by geographical divisions, by the physical contour of the land, by peculiarities of soil, nay, further, by traditions and customs and habits, that manifestation of a man's self and a nation's existence from which neither ever seems to break completely away.

Cast a glance upon the map of Virginia and note the divisions of to-day, politically, materially, and industrially, varied and diverse. Five divisions will indicate roughly these differences: First, the Tide-Water, including the parts contiguous to the navigable streams; second, the Southside; third, the Valley; fourth, the Southwest; and fifth (I shall add for our present purposes), West Virginia. These geographical divisions, apparently made for convenience, in reality affect deeply the inner history of the State, and were originally the settling places of peoples, however commingled later, of different origins, governed

by different principles, and affected by different interests. Four race-elements are important enough in the history of Virginia's culture to bear distinction: the English, the Scotch-Irish, the German, and the French Huguenot. The African negro would constitute a fifth.

The first settlers were the English. Coming over at the instigation of the Virginia Company in London,¹ their objects were very similar to the later East Indian and Southern and Central African companies: to found a colony, to establish plantations, to engage in trade with the natives, to extract from a fresh soil its mineral and agricultural wealth, to amass fortunes, and possibly to achieve fame.

It needs little discernment and slight study of the map of the New World to note how admirably just this part of the entire American coast was adapted to their purposes. Stretched before them lay the beautiful waters of the Chesapeake. Into this flows fairly parallel the great river of the Potomac; the Rappahannock; the York, with its confluent; the Mattaponi and the Pamunkey; the James and its tributaries, the Chickahominy and the Appomattox, all forming fertile and pleasing peninsulas and presenting a perfect tracery and net-work of navigable waters, great highways for commerce and communication. The Bay itself and the Ocean create still another great peninsula, that of the "Eastern Shore." From these sections these pioneers spread slowly to the north and west and south, following, in the main, the courses of the larger streams.

It is a most striking illustration how the topography and physical features of a land determine its history, its social, political, and particularly its economical and intellectual development. Sufficient labor was naturally difficult to obtain, and the demand grew still greater as the tobacco crop became the staple of produce and the plantations encroached on the forest domain. Economical conditions create history; and a dozen years after the colony had been planted, the first ship-load of African slaves was introduced.² The social scale was lengthened at both ends. Plantations became more princely, as hundreds of servants were

¹ Edward D. Neill: The Virginia Company in London.

² Minor's Institutes, Vol. I.

added as laborers and domestics. The English manorial estate, controlling the surrounding acres, leading in the vestry meeting of the neighboring church, was the model upon which the Virginian's life and government were patterned.³ Physical geography produced also here its effects. The scattered homes and estates, extending irregularly along the courses of rivers, necessitated the division into counties of irregular shape and unequal extent; and these counties were accepted as the unit of society and the basis of representation in the government.⁴ The contrast with New England already accentuated by certain differences in people, in attitude, in thought, was here complete. The colonists in Massachusetts and Connecticut, for reasons both natural and social, dwelt in compact communities, living close together and knit by common interests. These had naturally recourse to the township or ward as the central point in their democratic system, and a county composed a number of these smaller divisions. It is unprofitable to discuss the advantages of the one form of government as compared with the other, to praise one as containing germs of liberty, which the other does not possess.⁵ Nature and climate and mode of life imposed the one upon New England and the other upon Virginia. In both colonies we find local self-government and individual liberty alike dear and near to an English-speaking people.

True Englishmen these Virginians remain; there is still manifest throughout, the Englishman's love of out-door pleasure, of an open-air existence, of a life filled with excitement and adventure. Professor Moses Coit Tyler, in his *History of American Literature*,⁶ asserts: "These constitute a situation out of which may be evolved country gentlemen, loud-lunged and jolly fox-hunters, militia heroes, men of boundless domestic heartiness and social grace, astute and imperious politicians, fiery orators, and bye and bye, here and there, perhaps, after a while, a few amateur literary men; but no literary class and almost no literature." These were, at least, the conditions which produced "militia heroes" like Washington and Lee; "fiery orators"

³ Woodrow Wilson: *The State*.

⁴ John Fiske: *Civil Government in the United States*.

⁵ Henry Adams: *Life of John Randolph*.

⁶ Vol. I, p. 92.

like Patrick Henry and Randolph, of Roanoke; "astute and imperious politicians" like Jefferson and Madison; "country gentlemen" like Wythe and Mason and John Marshall.

The second race element, entering into the make-up of Virginia's culture, is the Scotch-Irish. One hundred and thirty years after the tide-water was settled, the valley received this stream of immigration.¹ The situation of the original home of the Scotch-Irish in Virginia was typical of the spreading of the race itself to the four quarters. Their settlements extended along the headwaters of streams flowing in all directions—some northward with the Shenandoah to empty into the Potomac; others eastward into the James or more southerly into the Roanoke; others southerly and westward into the Holston, and thus into the Tennessee; and still others into the Greenbrier and Kanawha, and thence down the Ohio. That descendants still retain that love of external scenery, inborn in their ancestry, is one of the curious problems which science attempts to explain. Whether we view the Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania or Virginia, in North or South Carolina, in Tennessee or Kentucky, they have fairly well followed the Appalachian range and its offshoots and the courses of its streams, the highlands and the Piedmont section ever remaining that portion where their genius seems to flower at fullest perfection.

These people added to the character of the colony a much needed Puritan element—stern, serious-minded, burdened with consciences, somewhat severe in their aspects of life and in their relations with the world, but in their very nature earnest, law-abiding, upright, staunch, honest patriots, filled with a love of liberty inherited from generations of Scotch covenanters.

The German element seems at first sight not to have been so pronounced as might have been expected from their early contact. This is due in large measure to their natural conservatism and their contentment, clustering by themselves, to lead simple,

¹J. L. Peyton: History of Augusta County; J. A. Waddell: Annals of Augusta County; Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College. J. H. Bryson: The Scotch-Irish in America—seems to me to claim too much; the Scotch-Irish have surely done enough, without one's desiring to go beyond legitimate limits and to ascribe nearly everything to them.

thrifty and comparatively secluded lives.⁸ In reality the geography of the State has been deeply affected, as the abundance of post-offices bearing German appellations testify,⁹ and a study of the catalogues of the Valley and westerly institutions reveal a constantly marked increase in students whose names show them to be descended from these eighteenth century pioneers.¹⁰ William Wirt, Attorney-General of the United States and author of the first Life of Patrick Henry, Judges Conrad and Sheffey, Governor Kemper, Koiner and Speece, are among the prominent representatives of this race.

The French element in Virginia has been not so large, but marked in capacity and distinct in quality. Settling along the upper waters of the James on the border of Goochland and Powhatan, this original handful of Huguenots became distributed here and there in all sections of the State, particularly along the James and the Appomattox, the Southside receiving possibly the larger share.¹¹ Maury, Marye, Maupin, Michaux, Legrand, Fontaine, Flournoy, Dupuy, Dabney, are but a few among many Virginian family names from this source.

I have just alluded to the Southside and its French elements. Half-way between the tide-water and the mountains of the Blue Ridge, the southern section of Virginia received an admixture of both English and Scotch-Irish. A further commingling with the French Huguenots intensified the Presbyterian influence. Add to this the labors of Samuel Davies and other missionary evangelists, and we have the causes which gave rise to Hampden-Sidney College in Prince Edward.¹² But if any point is clear in the educational history of the State, it is the fact that her early institutions in their origin are not so much the creatures of de-

⁸ Henry Ruffner: History of Washington College—characterizes very fairly both the Scotch Irish and the German settlers.

⁹ Post-Office Directory ; Rand, McNally & Co.'s Railway Guide, etc.

¹⁰ General and Annual Catalogues of Washington and Lee University, University of Virginia, Roanoke College, Hampden-Sidney College, etc.

¹¹ R. A. Brock: Huguenot immigration to Virginia—Virginia Historical Collections, Vol. V, New Series.

¹² W. H. Foote: Sketches of Virginia ; Hugh Blair Grigsby: Centennial Oration at Hampden-Sidney College in 1876.

nomination as the result of traditions of *race* and *place*. They sprang from local needs, were supported by local patronage, and only by degrees, for especial reasons and in exceptional cases, did they become institutions for a whole land. Only three of these belong to the first half century of our national existence (1775-1825): The College of William and Mary for the Tide-Water section; Hampden-Sidney College for the Southside; and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) for the Valley.¹³

¹³ Two members of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, Mr. James P. Moss, of Texarkana, Texas, and Mr. Cochran Preston, of Smyth county, Virginia, have been good enough to investigate this point, Mr. Moss taking the General Catalogue of William and Mary of 1874, and Mr. Preston that of Washington and Lee University, published in 1888. It had been my hope and intention of having the past of Hampden-Sidney College treated in like manner, but the General Catalogue has not yet appeared, and complete material was therefore not accessible. The work of these gentlemen has been very painstaking, and I trust that the results may prove valuable as statistics. These have been tabulated for each year and each county and State on charts preserved in the Hampden-Sidney College Library, and from these I have easily made the following tables. The period before the late war is separated into three divisions: First, the eighteenth century and then two others, the dividing point being 1825, the date of the opening of the University of Virginia. The table for William and Mary has been brought down only through 1861, owing to the peculiar sufferings of that institution for many years, induced through the war. The post-bellum period for Washington and Lee has been, for convenience, cut into two, the first being the decade from 1865 to 1875, displaying the influences due to General Lee's presidency, markedly increased accessions from the Southwestern States being the most striking. Many other interesting facts will be readily seen by a comparison of the two tables, which conclusions I must leave to the interested reader to draw, the lack of space forbidding a longer digression. To assist this comparison in some small measure, I have appended to the William and Mary table corresponding figures for Washington College for the same county and the similar period. The central counties have naturally sent both east and west, and the increase in the figures of Henrico, Norfolk, and Dinwiddie counties in the history of William and Mary, shows the expansion of urban at the expense of rural population.

[To avoid a too great division of the text and to present the table more clearly, it is printed as an appendix.—ED.]

The college of William and Mary was the offspring of the genius of the English race in northern and eastern Virginia. The objects asserted were "to the end that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a seminary of ministers of the gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated amongst the western Indians to the glory of Almighty God." There is about this the true and unmistakable English ring.¹⁴

It was a college for both church and state, because church and state were then one. In the chapel could assemble, with equal propriety, a band of college youth, a convention of the church, a body of legislators. But the influences were still stronger. Williamsburg was not only the educational and the religious centre of the English colony, it was the seat of the colonial governors, men who, imitating the state and ceremony of the court of St. James, introduced style, fashion, luxury, social grace—in short, a world's culture. Here were the sessions of the House of Burgesses, comprising the most prominent and active men in the colony; here were the law courts, and later the seat of the chancellor and the school for law. No wonder these young Virginians became natural leaders. They received their training, besides, in their homes, among domestics, in the fields, on the plantations, in church matters as vestrymen, as justices in the county courts, and, finally, in the capital at Williamsburg as members of the House of Burgesses and of the Governor's Council. Perhaps such an atmosphere was not too favorable for the production of preachers, if that had been the hope of the founders of William and Mary. The genius of this people lay no more in that direction than in philology and mathematics, or even in literature, though none of these branches was neglected in a way; but their genius in state-craft was consummate. They became students of politics, of government, and of the law; and it was the teachers in these departments, George Wythe, the chancellor, Judge St. George Tucker, and their successors, who inspired and captivated the youth of the time.¹⁵ And later, toward

¹⁴ H. B. Adams: *The College of William and Mary*; also, *The History of the College of William and Mary*.

¹⁵ George Wythe was professor of law from 1779; St. George Tucker, his successor, from 1800 to 1804.

the middle of the century, when abolition and territorial sovereignty and states' rights were the great issues involved, President Thomas R. Dew and Professor Beverley Tucker were still upholding the genius of the race and the institution among youth nurtured in the same traditions.¹⁶

¹⁶Thomas R. Dew is represented in the General Catalogue as having taken A. B. in the session of 1820-'21, and A. M. in that of 1824-'25. Shortly afterwards he became Professor of Political Economy, History and Metaphysics, and in 1836 succeeded to the Presidency, which he held until his death, ten years later. Judge Beverley Tucker was Professor of Law from 1833 to 1851. These seem to have been golden days for William and Mary—the decade under Dew's presidency (1836 to 1846) showing five hundred and fifty-five names in the General Catalogue against two hundred and ninety in the preceding, and three hundred and twenty-two in the following ten years. The *Southern Literary Messenger*, the truest exponent of the literary culture of Virginia for the thirty years of its existence, gives full testimony to the activity and influence of both of these gentlemen. I cite from its pages:

March, 1836. An Address: or the Influence of the Federative Republican System of Government upon Literature and the Development of Character—prepared to be delivered before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Virginia at its annual meeting in 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor of History, Metaphysics and Political Law, in the College of William and Mary. Published by request of the Society, March 20, 1836.

October, 1836. An Address delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, at the opening of the College on Monday, October 10, 1836, by Thomas R. Dew, Professor, &c. Published by request of the Students. [The occasion was Professor Dew's accession to the Presidency.]

February, 1837. A review of the above address.

July, 1837. Baccalaureate Address delivered to the Graduates of William and Mary College, July 4, 1837, by Thomas R. Dew, President.

November, 1846. Notice of the death of President Dew, which gives the following list of his works: A Treatise in Defence of Free Trade; Defence of Slavery; Notes on Ancient and Modern History, designed as a text-book for class, and including Review of the Causes and Effects of the French Revolution; The Characteristics of Women—a series of articles which appeared in the earlier numbers of the *Messenger*. [After his death, was published in 1851: A Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations.]

January, 1837. Extended reviews of Beverley Tucker's two novels, "George Balcombe" and "The Partisan Leader." [The review of

Mr. Jefferson had to send abroad for Professors in Latin and Greek, Mathematics, and Modern Languages, in furnishing his

the former of these two "anonymous" novels ends thus: "George Balcombe thinks, speaks and acts as no person, we are convinced, but Judge Beverley Tucker ever precisely thought, spoke or acted before;" while that of the second lets fall no word nor hint as to the probable hand that had traced it. In this number fifty-four and a half pages are devoted to criticisms and reviews, and forty to the *literary* contents !]

April, 1837. A Lecture on Government by Professor Beverley Tucker, delivered before the students of the College of William and Mary, March 6, 1837.

December, 1838. A Discourse on the Genius of the Federative System of the United States, prepared to be delivered by Professor Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary, read before the Young Men's Society, of Lynchburg, Va., August 26, 1838.

August, 1839. Political Science: A Discourse on the questions, What is subject of Sovereignty in the United States, and what the relation of the People of these States to the Federal and State Governments respectively, read before the Petersburg Lyceum, May 15, 1839, by Judge Beverley Tucker, of the College of William and Mary.

September, 1839. A Lecture: delivered to the Law Class of the College of William and Mary, June 17, 1839. This is the last of a course of lectures on the Philosophy of Government and Constitutional Law by Judge Beverley Tucker.

[In the number for January, 1842, a reference is made to the determination some years (*sic*) ago to discontinue furnishing lectures and addresses as *literary* matter, owing to the complaints of the readers, and naturally, one afterwards hears less in these columns of the two great favorites. However, a departure from this rule is soon noted.]

September, 1842. Temperance: An Address before the Temperance Society of the College of William and Mary by Beverley Tucker, Professor of Law.

Finally, two representative articles in the volume for 1850. The one: Observations on a Passage in the Politics of Aristotle Relative to Slavery—*Apropos* of an Essay on Slavery by Thomas R. Dew, late President of the College of William and Mary, second edition, Richmond, 1849. The other: Origin and History of the High Court of Chancery, dedicated to Hon. N. Beverley Tucker—being a Review of Campbell's Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England, and of Spence's Jurisdiction.

In the joint number for October and November, 1851, the Editor's Table announces the death of Beverley Tucker, at Winchester, on August 26, 1851.

State university;¹⁷ but for Political Economy, Law, and the Science of Government he had only to reach out his hand among the graduates of William and Mary.¹⁸

But what growth could literature, as the expression of an *art*, enjoy in such an atmosphere?

But no less did the Scotch-Irish possess their institution. As early as 1749 those in the Valley originated Augusta Academy.¹⁹ Those in the Southside were among the chief promoters in 1775 for the Prince Edward Academy.²⁰ Through the patriotic fervor engendered by the Revolution, the one became changed into Liberty Hall and the other to Hampden-Sidney College. I have referred to the personality of George Wythe and St. George Tucker and the consequent school of jurists and statesmen at Williamsburg. Here we have to deal with the personality of William Graham in Rockbridge,²¹ and of the two brothers, Samuel Stanhope Smith and John Blair Smith, in Prince Edward. All three were Pennsylvanians by birth, were reared under Scotch-Irish influences, were pupils of Dr. Witherspoon, at Princeton, and preachers in the Presbyterian Church. The Princeton influence, ever strong in Virginia,²² was now at its highest. Circumstances combined to make Lexington as much a centre of intellectual culture for the one people as Williamsburg for the other. The mental activities of the youth were directed not so

¹⁷ H. B. Adams: Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia; W. P. Trent: The Gilmer Letters.

¹⁸ Not only were Thomas Jefferson, Joseph C. Cabell, and Chapman Johnson, all of whom were prominent in founding the new State University, old students of William and Mary, but also Francis W. Gilmer, the Commissioner to England, and Professor elect of Law; George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy, 1825-'45; John Tayloe Lomax, Professor of Law, 1826-'30; John A. G. Davis, Professor of Law, 1830-'40; Henry St. George Tucker (brother to Beverley Tucker, and son of St. George Tucker), Professor of Law, 1841-'45.

¹⁹ General Catalogue of Washington and Lee University; H. A. White: The Scotch-Irish University of the South.

²⁰ W. H. Foote: Sketches of Virginia, first series.

²¹ Henry Ruffner: Early History of Washington College; Hugh Blair Grigsby: The Founders of Washington College; Foote's Sketches.

²² Princeton Catalogues.

much to law and politics—although the history of the times would not allow these anywhere to remain wholly in the background—but it was theology and metaphysics which absorbed most attention. The genius of the race—the Scotch—was again triumphant. Among Graham's pupils in Rockbridge we find Revolutionary heroes, congressmen, and judges; but it is a telling fact that more than one-fourth from among them became preachers of the Gospel.²² It is to four of these²³—Archibald Alexander, Moses Hoge, John Holt Rice, and George A. Baxter, imbued with the spirit and purpose instilled by the teacher—that is due the rise and greatness of the two historic seminaries of Calvinistic theology at Princeton and at Hampden-Sidney.

Much the same characteristics are fairly manifest in the history of Hampden-Sidney College. She has turned out a President of the United States, one or two Cabinet members, Congressmen, Governors, and Judges, but the genius of the institution²⁴ has been far more directed towards producing an educated ministry²⁵ and to filling professional chairs and presidencies of edu-

²² Graham was Tutor from 1774 to 1776, and from 1776 to 1796 Rector or Principal. Of the one hundred and fifty-three names in the General Catalogue as having registered between 1749 and 1800, forty became ministers (thirty-seven Presbyterian, two Episcopalian, and one Independent), *i. e.*, 26 per cent.

²³ Archibald Alexander was afterwards President of Hampden-Sidney College (1797-1806), main instigator of the movement for a Presbyterian theological seminary, and first Professor in the same at Princeton (1812-1851); see *Life of Alexander* by (his son) James W. Alexander, Moses Hoge was Alexander's successor as President of Hampden-Sidney College (1807-1820), and founder of the Theological Department at the same. John Holt Rice became Tutor in Hampden-Sidney College, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Richmond, founder and Editor of the *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine* (1818-'28), President-elect of Princeton College, and founder of the Union Theological Seminary at Hampden-Sidney as a distinct institution, and first Professor in the same (1824-'31). George A. Baxter was a follower of William Graham in the Presidency of Washington College (1799-1829), and was Dr. Rice's successor in Union Theological Seminary (1831-'41).

²⁴ Mr. Blair Dickinson, of Prince Edward county, Virginia, a member of the Senior Class of Hampden-Sidney College, has examined the catalogues of Union Theological Seminary (an institution supported by the Virginia and North Carolina synods) and has given the following

cational institutions. Noble and exalted aims! but in themselves not altogether favorable to the creation of an atmosphere charged with the electric current ready for a literary outburst.

The quarter of the century from 1825 to 1850 seems especially active in the intellectual life of the State. The older colleges become infused with new spirit. The theological seminaries at Hampden-Sidney and near Alexandria enter upon careers of distinguished usefulness. The University of Virginia opens its doors and achieves its pre-eminent position in the State and the South. There arise on all sides new institutions* with high educational and literary aims. Randolph-Macon, in Mecklenburg, and Emory and Henry in Washington county, are organized by the Methodists. The Baptists and the Lutherans put on foot the beginnings of Richmond and Roanoke Colleges. The State opens the Military Institute at Lexington, and one or two law and medical schools are started in different localities. Fur-

estimates: From 1824 to 1892 there have matriculated 948 students. Of these 374 have come from the present counties in Virginia, 61 from those in West Virginia, and 184 from North Carolina, making a total of 619, and leaving 329 for other States. Hampden-Sidney College has contributed 225; Washington and Lee University (including Washington College), 139; Davidson College, North Carolina, 99; University of North Carolina, 40. Fifty-eight fall to the University of Virginia, but these, for the most part, have already been counted elsewhere. The representation of other colleges rapidly declines: King College, Tennessee, 39; Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 20; Centre College, Kentucky, 18; Southwestern Presbyterian University, Tennessee, 17; Central University, Kentucky, 14, etc., etc.

The above figures are of course exclusive of the number from these several institutions who have gone to Princeton and other seminaries.

The Virginian representation according to counties would correspond generally with the figures already given: *e. g.*, Rockbridge 56, Augusta 32, Botetourt 9, Bedford 7—total 104, representing the Scotch-Irish strongholds. Further, Montgomery 9, Pulaski 4, Smyth 4, Wythe 7, Washington 12—total 36, for the Southwest. Prince Edward 30, Charlotte 16, Cumberland 12—total 58, for the local influence. Further, Appomattox 3, Buckingham 2, Powhatan 4, Chesterfield 3, Nottoway 3, Dinwiddie 9 (including Petersburg 5), Mecklenburg 2, Halifax 4—total 30, for the remaining South-side. Finally, for the cities: Richmond 26, Norfolk and Portsmouth 9, Alexandria 6, Fredericksburg 7, Lynchburg 10, Winchester 14—total 72. The rest are very scattering.

* H. B. Adams: Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia.

ther, it is in this period that the *Southern Literary Messenger* is begun ; that other enterprises, lyceums, athenæums, and literary institutes, are attempted ; that the VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY is founded and incorporated.

If the political and constitutional ferment during and after Revolutionary times checked the expansion of literary talent and turned the genius of the people to other channels, still darker grows the prospect toward the middle of the century. The *Southern Literary Messenger* affords a most pathetic instance. In its brief life of three decades (1834-'64) it never succeeded in casting off the shadow. With distinct and apparent effort to approach nearer the ideals of a literary organ, its literary features became submerged under its uses as a reflector of political sentiment, as a defender of southern institutions and Virginian rights. Constitutional and political questions absorbed all interest, all energy ; the exigences of the time once more crushed out literature as an art and as a profession.

The influence of the colleges and seminaries could not retard this movement ; indeed, but accelerated it. All participated nobly in building up the culture, the educational and intellectual life of the State—each institution, each section, each element, happy that it could preserve withal a distinctive individuality. The State University had to be largely professional—aims very distinct from literary—and specialized in philology, in mathematics, in the sciences. On the other hand, the study of government, moral and political science, and the law, ever remaining popular and attractive with Virginian youth, intensified the zest for the practical politics of the day. Taking a look backward, we see that it could hardly have been otherwise. The conditions were not those for a creative and productive era, for an universal glow and spontaneous outburst indicative of an aggressive crusade. The very preference for country life was adverse. There was hardly occasion for literary criticism, for the higher flights of poetry, for the calm observant analysis of the writer of fiction. Edgar Poe looms out conspicuously not as one born of the times, but as a lurid meteor dashing across a darkling sky—and yet in this brilliancy matching with Hawthorne and Emerson as the three original and Titanesque appearances in American authorship.

There was no centre, whether at college or in a city, no system of large collections of books and constant public discourses; little opportunity for sympathetic mind to keep in touch with kindred spirit, laboring and studying and waiting, loving literature as an art, and art for art's sake.

Intellectual energy was suppressed. It was not free to move and range at will. There could not be freedom of thought when it was ever on the defensive, on the watch for the terrible conflict which was not to be averted!

JOHN BELL HENNEMAN.



APPENDIX.

TABLE FOR THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

[See note, p. 8.]

	1700-1800.			1800-1825.			1825-1861.			Whole No.		
	W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.	
James City.....	73	....		59	3		175	1		307		4
Gloucester.....	54	....		21	....		48	2		123		2
Henrico.....	33	....		31	18		93	39		157		57
Charles City.....	29	....		21	3		33	....		83		3
York.....	27	....		10	....		20	....		57		
Warwick.....	21	....		3	....		5	....		29		
Elizabeth City.....	20	....		4	1		24	....		48		1
Middlesex.....	20	....		....	....		8	....		28		
Norfolk.....	19	....		27	....		68	2		114		2
King George.....	17	....		5	4		11	1		33		5
Hanover.....	16	....		14	11		22	13		52		24
King & Queen.....	16	1		12	1		32	2		60		4
King William.....	16	....		9	6		14	1		39		7
Spotsylvania.....	16	3		3	3		13	1		32		7
Prince George.....	15	....		9	3		14	1		38		4
Westmoreland.....	14	....		8	2		6	....		28		2
Albemarle.....	13	1		13	17		5	25		31		43
Surry.....	12	....		4	....		18	....		34		
Caroline.....	10	....		4	3		14	2		28		5
Louisa.....	10	1		6	5		5	5		21		11
Amherst.....	9	2		8	13		3	19		20		34
Dinwiddie.....	9	....		19	13		71	7		99		20
Stafford.....	8	....		1	4		....	1		9		5
New Kent.....	7	....		9	4		15	3		31		7
Northumberland.....	7	....		....	....		6	....		13		
Accomac.....	6	....		1	1		30	1		37		2
Amelia.....	6	....		13	2		17	1		36		3
Brunswick.....	6	....		6	1		23	1		35		2
Chesterfield.....	6	....		16	4		14	3		36		7
Cumberland.....	6	....		3	13		13	16		22		29
Isle of Wight.....	6	....		6	....		17	....		29		
Augusta.....	5	28		2	38		2	117		9		183
Northampton.....	5	....		4	1		28	....		37		1
Prince William.....	5	1		5	1		8	....		18		2
Fairfax.....	4	....		3	....		2	....		9		
Orange.....	4	....		4	7		7	....		15		7
Prince Edward.....	4	1		2	2		4	8		10		11
Southampton.....	4	....		3	....		8	1		15		1
Fauquier.....	3	1		7	7		14	....		24		8
Frederick.....	3	2		8	4		7	3		18		9
Nansemond.....	3	....		5	....		7	1		15		1

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—CONTINUED.

	1700-1800.			1800-1825.			1825-1861.			Whole No.		
	W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.		W. & M.	W. C.	
Charlotte	2	...		1	7		1	...		4	7	
Essex.....	2	...		2	...		16	1		20	1	
Goochland.....	2	...		8	6		9	5		19	11	
Mecklenburg.....	2	...		11	4		17	2		30	6	
Montgomery	2	2		1	3	...	...	16		3	21	
Powhatan.....	2	1		18	11		12	2		32	14	
Richmond.....	2	...		1	3		2	...		5	3	
Bedford.	1	10		1	13		2	23		4	46	
Botetourt.....	1	8		2	22		5	43		8	73	
Buckingham.....	1	...		...	10		9	27		10	37	
Campbell.....	1	...		1	11		10	19		12	30	
Culpeper.....	1	1		6	5		6	5		13	11	
Halifax.....	1	...		1	7		16	8		18	15	
Lancaster.....	1	...		...	1		6	...		7	1	
Nottoway.....	1	...		4	...		12	7		17	7	
Princess Anne.....	1	1		2	...		3	...		6	1	
Sussex.....	1	...		6	...		16	...		23		
Loudoun.....	...	...		8	...		3	...		11		
Mathews.....	...	...		6	...		9	...		15		
Clarke.....	...	...		5	...		3	3		8	3	
Lunenburg.....	...	...		4	2		15	14		19	16	
Nelson.....	1	...		3	12		3	17		6	30	
Fluvanna.....	...	...		2	1		6	4		8	5	
Alexandria.....	...	...		1	2		6	...		7	2	
Greensville.....	...	...		1	...		18	...		19		
Rappahannock.....	...	...		1	...		1	...		2		
Rockbridge.....	...	58		1	105		3	362		4	525	
Pittsylvania.....	...	...		...	10		6	18		6	28	
Washington.....	...	3		...	3		3	1		3	7	
Franklin.....	...	...		...	6		2	4		2	10	
Henry.....	...	1		...	6		2	4		2	11	
Patrick.....	...	...		...	1		2	2		2	3	
Wythe.....	...	...		...	3		2	5		2	8	
Page.....	...	...		...	...		1	...		1		
Roanoke.....	...	...		...	3		1	5		1	8	
Shenandoah.....	...	...		...	1		1	5		1	6	
Warren.....	...	...		...	...		1	...		1		
*West Virginia.....	...	5		4	18		10	80		14	103	
Other States.....	8	11		30	26		169	118		207	155	
†Unknown.....	122	9		144	66		23	5		289	80	
Total.....	721	...		663	...		1,356	...		2,740		

* The present State.

† Not given.

No representation at all have the following counties, almost wholly in the west and southwest: Alleghany, Appomattox, Bath (Bland), Buchanan, Carroll, Craig, (Dickenson), Floyd, Giles, Grayson, Greene, Highland, Lee, Madison, Pulaski, Rockingham, Russell, Scott, Smyth, Tazewell and Wise.

WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE—CONTINUED.

TABLE FOR OTHER STATES.

	Before 1801.	1801-1861.
Kentucky.....	1	12
Massachusetts.....		3
Maryland.....	4	29
South Carolina.....		7
Georgia.....		19
North Carolina.....	2	56
Tennessee.....		7
Pennsylvania.....		3
Mississippi.....		12
Florida.....		2
Alabama.....		22
New York.....		4
Louisiana.....		9
Missouri.....		3
District of Columbia.....		7
Maine.....		1
Illinois.....		1
Delaware.....		1
Bermuda.....	1	1
Total.....	8	199

This "Table for Other States" differs slightly from the similar table of Mr. C. L. Smith, in Prof. H. B. Adams' treatise on "The College of William and Mary," but Mr. Moss claims to have verified his results more than once.

Mr. Moss further estimates that of the 307 from James City, 248 were from Williamsburg and 7 from Jamestown; of 157 from Henrico, 117 were from Richmond; of the 114 from Norfolk county, 100 were from Norfolk city and 12 from Portsmouth; of the 99 from Dinwiddie, 74 were from Petersburg; of the 48 from Elizabeth City, 28 were from Hampton; of the 32 from Spotsylvania, 19 were from Fredericksburg; of the 57 from York, 13 were from Yorktown; of the 18 from Frederick, 11 were from Winchester; of the 12 from Campbell, 10 were from Lynchburg; of the 36 from Chesterfield, 5 were from Manchester; of the 29 from the Isle of Wight, 5 were from Smithfield; of 5 from the Eastern Shore, 3 were given to Accomac county, and 2 to Northampton, on mere probability.

TABLE FOR WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Rockbridge.....	58	105	362	117	128	770
Augusta.....	28	38	117	53	26	262
Bedford.....	10	13	23	9	9	64
Botetourt.....	8	22	43	13	4	90
Spotsylvania.....	3	10	5	5	.....	23
Washington.....	3	3	1	3	1	11
Amherst.....	2	13	19	2	.....	36
Frederick.....	2	4	3	6	7	22
Montgomery.....	2	3	16	1	4	26
Albemarle.....	1	17	25	3	2	48
Culpeper.....	1	5	5	4	.....	15
Fauquier.....	1	7	.....	5	.....	13
Henry.....	1	6	4	.....	.....	11
King & Queen.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	4
Louisa.....	1	5	5	5	1	17
Nelson.....	1	12	17	1	1	32
Powhatan.....	1	11	2	7	2	23
Prince Edward.....	1	2	8	1	.....	12
Princess Anne.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1
Prince William.....	1	1	.....	.....	1	3
Rockingham.....	1	11	18	3	10	43
Henrico.....	.....	18	39	9	12	78
Cumberland.....	.....	13	16	6	.....	35
Dinwiddie.....	.....	13	7	6	1	27
Campbell.....	.....	11	19	8	7	45
Hanover.....	.....	11	13	8	.....	32
Buckingham.....	.....	10	27	1	.....	38
Pittsylvania.....	.....	10	18	7	.....	35
Charlotte.....	.....	9	9	5	.....	23
Halifax.....	.....	7	8	.....	1	16
Orange.....	.....	7	.....	3	.....	10
Franklin.....	.....	6	4	.....	3	13
Goochland.....	.....	6	5	3	.....	14
King William.....	.....	6	1	.....	1	8
Chesterfield.....	.....	4	3	1	2	10
King George.....	.....	4	1	2	.....	7
Mecklenburg.....	.....	4	2	.....	.....	6
New Kent.....	.....	4	3	.....	.....	7
Stafford.....	.....	4	1	.....	.....	5
Caroline.....	.....	3	2	2	.....	7
Charles City.....	.....	3	.....	1	.....	4
James City.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
Prince George.....	.....	3	1	.....	.....	4
Richmond.....	.....	3	.....	2	.....	5
Roanoke.....	.....	3	5	2	4	14
Wythe.....	.....	3	5	6	.....	14
Alexandria.....	.....	2	.....	6	2	10
Alleghany.....	.....	2	6	3	.....	11
Amelia.....	.....	2	1	2	.....	5

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Lunenburg		2	14	2	1	19
Westmoreland		2		1		3
Accomac		1	1	2		4
Appomattox		1	4		1	6
Bath		1	8	1	1	11
Brunswick		1	1	1		3
Elizabeth City		1			1	2
Fluvanna		1	4			5
Lancaster		1				1
Madison		1				1
Northampton		1		3		4
Patrick		1	2		1	4
Shenandoah		1	5	3	1	10
Highland			7	3	1	11
Nottoway			7	4		11
Clarke			3	4	5	12
Gloucester			2			2
Norfolk			2	1	6	9
Craig			1			1
Essex			1	1		2
Greene			1			1
Nansemond			1		1	2
Pulaski			1		3	4
Southampton			1	1		2
Loudoun				7	5	12
Fairfax				3		3
Smyth				3		3
Warren				3		3
Rappahannock				2		2
Giles				1	1	2
Greensville				1		1
Isle of Wight				1	3	4
Floyd					2	2
Carroll					1	1
Lee					1	1
Mathews					1	1
Page					1	1
Sussex					1	1
*Unknown	9	66	5			80
Other States:						
Pennsylvania	7	1	9	5	6	28
†West Virginia	5	18	80	41	51	195
Kentucky	2	9	7	156	63	237
North Carolina	1	3	18	41	5	68
South Carolina	1	3	1	46	31	82
Mississippi		4	11	59	17	91
Georgia		2	10	64	19	95

* Not given.

† The present State.

WASHINGTON AND LEE UNIVERSITY—CONTINUED.

	1749-1800.	1800-1825.	1825-1864.	1865-1875.	1875-'87.	Total.
Alabama	1	8	80	14		103
Connecticut.....	1					1
Tennessee.....	1	12	140	20		173
England.....	1					1
Louisiana.....		10	91	43		144
Arkansas.....		6	33	7		46
Missouri		5	46	19		70
Florida.....		4	12	7		23
Indiana.....		3	2	1		6
New Jersey.....		3	2			5
Maryland.....		3	37	19		59
New York.....		2	13	4		19
Ohio		2	4	6		12
Ireland.....		2				2
Illinois.....		1	4	1		6
Texas		1	135	65		201
California.....			6	1		7
District of Columbia.....			2	1		3
Massachusetts			2			2
Japan.....			2			2
Iowa.....			1	1		2
Kansas.....			1			1
France.....			1			1
Canada.....			1			1
Mexico.....			1			1
Idaho			1			1
Oregon.....				3		3
Indian Territory.....				1		1
Central America.....				1		1
Grand total	153	588	1,141	1,398	673	3,953

The number (3955) in the General Catalogue is incorrect, as two numbers (745 and 1,115) were omitted in counting.

Mr. Preston makes a note that of the 770 from Rockbridge, 243 were from Lexington; of the 78 from Henrico, 72 were from the city of Richmond; of the 262 from Augusta, 40 were from Staunton; of the 45 from Campbell, 30 were from Lynchburg; of the 27 from Dinwiddie, 23 were from Petersburg; of the 23 from Spotsylvania, 10 were from Fredericksburg; of the 35 from Pittsylvania, 8 were from Danville; of the 9 from Norfolk county, 7 were from Norfolk city.

Bland, Buchanan, Dickenson, Grayson, Russell, Tazewell and Wise counties in the west; and Middlesex, Northumberland, Surry, Warwick and York counties in the east, are not represented.

from the author.

Reprint from the Hampden-Sidney Magazine.

13

Shall Virginians Write Virginian History?

THE Hon. Edward C. Venable, of Petersburg, ex-Congressman of this district, and orator before the literary societies at last commencement, has offered a gold medal to that student of Hampden-Sidney College who shall produce the ablest investigation of historic matter pertaining to Virginian life and culture—and more especially that of Prince Edward county and the Southside—worthy of publication. The ancestors of Mr. Venable came from Prince Edward county, were concerned in the foundation, and have been associated with the entire history, of Hampden-Sidney College; and this accounts, in part, for his own interest both in the College and in the history of his State and section. His hope, no doubt, is to influence, if possible, the production of a body of investigators; to aid, in a measure, in building up a Virginian and Southern school of history—something of which we have

EARLY

been in great need—so that every vestige and detail of the past may be brought to light, and the material accumulated for the proper knowledge and understanding of Virginian conditions—economic, political, social, educational, literary, religious—all that pertains in any way to Virginian life, manners, habits, interests, action, thought.

I take this opportunity to thank Mr. Venable for emphasizing among our students in such a material and practical way the interests appertaining to a branch of my own department—and that of his own initiative, as the friend and patron of letters and history and the fosterer of patriotism and local pride.

With last year's Senior Class in the elective course in connection with our Hampden-Sidney Historical Society, established for the nonce while working up the History of Education and Literary Effort in Virginia, I succeeded in getting one or two highly creditable pieces of work done by the young gentlemen participating, and I take pleasure in commending publicly the contributions of Mr. J. P. Moss, Mr. C. Preston, Mr. M. B. Dickinson, Mr. H. M. McAden and Mr. H. B. Hawes—while others engaged in work from which I hope we may still hear. As I have touched so often in class-room upon this subject, and as I have used also more than one occasion for an address on a similar theme, I have hesitated again to employ the columns of this MAGAZINE for a renewed attempt to create an interest in historic research as regards the life of our own State and section, and institution and homes; but at the special request of the editor I take advantage of the circumstance of Mr. Venable's generous offer to add a few words. But while making use of this occasion, I wish to go beyond the mere consideration of the prize; and I shall give expression to suggestions, which, I hope, may possibly evoke in some a permanent interest in the need of historic investigation. Perhaps no piece of work which may be crowned with this medal, produced under restricted conditions, would exhaust the material—though I see no reason why some single point or definite principle connected with our local history and county records might not be adequately fixed once for all,

and, as far as it goes, settled for aye. But, certainly, the beginning of such a thesis might create a zeal which would lead to more ambitious and more exhaustive research in the future, and an investigation entered upon as a student could be developed afterward through the innate interest created and lead to most valuable results.

The truth is that the proper place for such work would be the State capital under State supervision, and it would require an organized bureau, as it were, and a director, so that no effort might be lost or duplicated, but each and every result would contribute toward the collection for a general history. The complete records of every county, and every institution of whatever character, must be sifted, and all important facts given in exact form to the public, before we can hope to have the material for a history of Virginian life based upon scientific principles. The details seem almost infinite, and they are not only numerous but scattered—unfortunately, indeed, many are irretrievably lost; but herein is displayed the exceeding richness of the veins of ore yet unexplored. But, in the absence of such perfect direction, if every institution and every community and every interest had its especial investigator, all working to the one end, to amass material for the future student and historian of Virginian conditions and life, after a few years of methodical effort and labor, much would be accomplished. Meanwhile we may not lie supine awaiting the golden age to dawn upon us. Since every college has various parts of the State and several states represented, each may do much in awaking interest and creating an enthusiasm among its students. The State University is particularly favored in this regard, and its responsibility for taking the lead is correspondingly great; and I still hope that with her opportunities, her resources will soon allow her teachers the necessary leisure and scope to inspire a school of investigators throughout the State and the South, and to help materially (as could be so easily effected and more readily from this central point and representative institution than from any other) in founding what we deplorably lack and what we *must* have, if we are to look for our own thoughts

and beliefs and views to become known; nay, even if we are not to be misunderstood and misrepresented and traduced by posterity—A SOUTHERN SCHOOL OF HISTORY.

Our history is being written chiefly in New England and by New England men. All praise to them for their interest in American matters and in our Southern history, when others seem to neglect it. But even if they are disposed to be fair—and the sincere student of history aims at truth alone, although his judgments and habits of thought are colored by education and the circumstances of environment—are we ever to allow our own history, our own life, our own motives, our own institutions, to be written up by others who know not our attitude and very imperfectly our conditions? And do we then wonder that works so produced seem to us often to contain much that is twisted and wrenched, or even at times vindictive?

The establishment of the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore has accomplished more than any other one influence to create a School of History in the South—although not a Southern School of History, as the ablest production of a Southern graduate in that department, Prof. Trent's *Life of Simms*, goes to prove. Indeed, so far as I know, the presence of a School of History founded upon scientific investigation, the rigid examination of original documents, and the sifting of evidence, was unknown to any educational institution of the South prior to a decade or so ago. The head of this department at the Hopkins and the originator of this movement which has affected especially the western and southern portions of our country, is a Massachusetts scholar. We have to thank *him*, too, for the two valuable contributions on the history of education in Virginia published in the government series by the National Bureau of Education. But it does excite some little surprise that Virginia had to wait for a Massachusetts historian to write up the most inviting histories of the College of William and Mary and the State University. One recalls, too, that William H. Foote, the historian of Virginian Presbyterianism, was a Northern man by birth. May not the hope be expressed that it will be the officers and stu-

dents and graduates of Hampden-Sidney College who will collect for themselves the material for a final history of their *alma mater*—and a more interesting and valuable contribution to the history and culture of the State cannot readily be conceived!

From our point of view and through our location it is but natural and right that we should pay especial attention to local concerns, anything connected with Prince Edward, its settlement, its families, its interests, and with the two educational institutions at Hampden-Sidney, bringing to light any obscure and unknown details affecting this history. For this reason and for our purposes, I can but regret that our courthouse records are so far away as Farmville, and not still, as formerly, down at Worsham, only a mile distant. The investigation of these papers with regard to particular points and for matters of local history is all-important. The references are the most varied. From the perusal of wills and deeds alone in the earliest periods we may ascertain relationships and genealogies of families, detect the mode of living, appreciate the interests, understand the condition of the country, the change of pursuits, and differences in methods. A mere catalogue of tools and stock as valuable shows by inference that some use was made of such stock and implements. Files of old newspapers give a daily and weekly record of the doings and interests and thought of the people—all the more accurate because they represent the spirit and feeling of the moment, the unconscious history which a man or community or state makes by giving utterance to a sentiment or emotion or belief. The mere advertisements are an index to interests and habits. From a fresh cargo of fancy articles advertised as just in from Europe, with very little skill and practice, the wardrobe of the beau and the toilette of the belle of a century and more ago could be reproduced article by article. Advertisements for runaway slaves and lottery companies speak eloquently of institutions and conditions that have vanished. From the same sources, a love for horse flesh seems always to have characterized Virginian life. To read the struggle between the Jackson and Clay factions in 1832

and the history of other Presidential campaigns, recalls a time when political parties in Virginia were more evenly and ably divided than now, and on somewhat different lines from the Cleveland and Harrison contest. Even the sentiments expressed at Fourth of July celebrations, in which form of patriotism Virginia was at one time particularly demonstrative, reveal abundant testimony to the character and temper of her people.

Old letters of a correspondence, through references all the more trustworthy because private expressions of personal opinions, throw wonderful side-lights upon the events and feelings of the day. Diaries and account books give the community in undress and display the man in the intimacy of his family and home. There is hardly a scrap of paper of a certain age but what has some reference to the spirit of its time. McMaster's History of the People of the United States—no doubt in imitation and pursuit of an idea caught from John Richard Green—is a model of what might be done on a more special scale for Virginia alone.

There are so many points of view to judge from, so many objects for which material may be collected, that I shall not allow myself to enter upon a possible list; but I feel that some suggestions may have their worth in helping those interested.

First, in the department of *economic* history, there are to be considered the various methods and the fortune of agriculture; the land system; the nature of crops; the conditions of labor; the variation of prices—either for any stated period of time, or from the most primitive conditions as reported in the accounts and descriptions of the first English adventurers down to the present. In Prince Edward, what are the estimates of land under cultivation at different times; what the varying values of property and rates of taxation; what have been the chief industries; of what sort the changes and diversity in the tobacco culture; what the condition and numbers of negroes?—and so forth, in the consideration of every factor in her material civilization. A splendid piece of work of this general character, which gives a truer picture of the times

than a political history because touching more closely the real conditions of living, the student will find in the two volumes of William B. Weeden on the Economic and Social History of New England from 1620 to 1789. Other subjects in a related sphere are: the extent of merchandise and commerce in Virginia; the credit and profit systems of the olden times; the history of manufactures in Virginia; the history of its roads and highways, their formation and condition; the modes of travel; navigation and shipping; the introduction of railways, especially as affecting social and economic conditions. The history of the James River Canal would include the entire political, social and economic life of a half century.

Economic details more closely related to *political* history are: the effect of tariffs in Virginia; the attitude of Virginia towards the money question; the history of State banks in Virginia and Virginian financial history; the State debt; relative values and proportionate taxation in Virginia; the history of slavery in the State; the status and progress of the colored people. Past political and constitutional history may be broken up into different periods: the planting of the colony; the royal governorship; the Revolution; Federal, Republican and Whig ideas; Secession; Reconstruction; and modern developments. Allied hereto would be the history of political parties and practical politics, and the history of elections in Virginia. All contributions on these subjects would prove the more valuable, because very useful as results in themselves and almost entirely neglected in any systematic study and research; and I suspect that Mr. Venable in making his offer, with his personal predilections towards considerations of economics and politics had these branches, of course as applied to our local conditions, more particularly in mind.

But it is not rhetoric and oratory on these points that we want: it is facts, figures, statements, proofs. We are not seeking a glorification, not inculcating the braggadocio or "better than thou" spirit, or a partisan advocacy. Nor is the term "School of Southern History" used in any offensive sense, but only to define work produced by a body of men living and laboring on behalf of and in thorough sympathy with their

people and section. We desire to throw light on hidden matter, clear up truth, and keep authorities, original documents, and proofs well in hand ; and no people, least of all Virginians, need be ashamed of the conscious and unconscious record which they have made. And not only the people of Virginia, but the outside world is interested in these things — as they must be in anything pertaining to human culture and human life anywhere displayed—for Virginia is the oldest State, and her influence has been dominant in the South and powerful in the formation and development of the Union. However, all this must be painfully investigated and not merely asserted. The history of the old *regime* has never been written, the *social* as well as political attitude and thought of the South under the old system ; and as it exists to-day mainly in traditions, we are in danger of losing them forever, unless older men refresh their memories, and younger ones, like Boswell with notebook in hand, report these opinions. As one of the professors at Harvard remarked in a recent conversation : the world is anxious to learn all about this, waiting for a Virginian and a Southerner to give his own point of view ; others have given *theirs* so often !

Other interesting subjects are connected with *institutional* history : the origin of local institutions in Virginia ; the genesis of the State ; the county, the parish, the manor, the hundred ; municipal life as displayed in town and city governments ; colonial statutes and records ; constitutional development ; sketch of the various State constitutions ; changes of principle wrought by the war ; and when one enters upon the executive, judicial, and legislative functions, one goes over at once bodily into the domain of the law.

The courthouse records contain the key not only to the economic and social history of the past, but to the *genealogies* of the families of the State ; and yet we find many of those published and given out as authentic are based only upon tradition, instead of using evidence in black and white. A thorough investigation of the records of all our counties will enable the historian to trace each family and each branch, as it settled in one county, then in another, spread gradually

throughout the State to the border and more westerly portions, and passed over into other states. After knowing the exact history of each, sufficiently to be able to trace back to the ultimate source within the State, the further origin in Great Britain and other countries might be consistently looked for, without the pernicious use of the argument so much in vogue that identity of name indicates either identity of family or identity of descent. Then, when one knew exactly for what and for whom one was seeking, a search through the county records of England (and plenty of material of this kind exists in the British Museum and elsewhere in the United Kingdom) would be amply worth its while and highly productive of results. But all this must be gone about methodically and accurately and scientifically. Tradition is presumption, but presumption, as all students of the inductive sciences know, is merely a sign-post and only the first step towards proof; for mistakes may easily be made and fancies intervene.

I recall but one county as having had its history written—Augusta—and that singularly enough has been so fortunate as to secure two historians. What we need sorely is that each constituent part in the body politic, each element, each race, each family, be carried back to its sources so that we may feel assured that our broad generalizations rest upon ascertained and well-established facts. Then we could indicate the origin of geographical names and postoffices in the counties as illustrative of the early movements and transmigration of families and races, and should not leave everything to the present hazy speculations on the subject. One of the best known Virginian names is asserted by some to be of French origin and to have come in with the Huguenot settlement of Manikin-town; others maintain as positively that it is a pure English appellation. Another name, famous in the annals of our own College, has been declared by different authorities to be both Scotch-Irish and French Huguenot. Are these things really matter of such great uncertainty? And may any new light be shed upon them by a bit of careful research?

In point of *biography* Virginia is unusually rich, and one

must regret that so many noble men fall with no one to erect this tardy monument to their memory. I have heard it related that upon the death of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grisby, the historian, who was a resident of the neighboring county, some member of the Massachusetts Historical Society by whom Mr. Grisby's acquirements and historical zeal were highly appreciated, asked: "And who has undertaken to write his biography?" This, as a matter of course. Because the men of other sections have their deeds and aspirations faithfully recorded, the world hears of them and remembers them, they secure places in the encyclopaedias, and thus comes it about that fall out results like those given in Mr. Cabot Lodge's paper on the Distribution of Ability in the United States.

Fortunately, state and family pride and personal and filial affection have produced among Virginians more activity in this branch of history than in any other. As in the case of genealogies, we have to rely in great part upon family interest to produce these memoirs and tributes. Marshall's *Life of Washington*, Tucker's *Jefferson*, Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, Lee's *Richard Henry Lee* and *Arthur Lee*, Garland's *John Randolph*—this last the work of a graduate of Hampden-Sidney and a former professor, no doubt, suggested, as was also the later production on the same subject by Powhatan Bouldin, through contact with this environment—were all worthy expressions of admiring friendship and spiritual kinship. William Cabell Rives's three-volumed *Life of Madison* was a monumental work for its day, and remains one of the few Virginian classics. The intimate relations and close friendship of Dr. Dabney—another figure in Prince Edward authorship—led to the biography of Stonewall Jackson and the memoirs of Francis S. Sampson and John T. Thornton. An excellent and original instance of the varied ways in which Virginian historical material may be worked up is the curious book on *Virginia County Clerks* by Frederick Johnston, himself a circuit and county clerk for near thirty years, collecting material and preserving reminiscences for a work filled with the most valuable biographical details and miscellaneous side-references.

The past year, 1891, has seen appear the *Life and Letters of Patrick Henry* by his grandson, the Hon. William Wirt Henry—like his grandfather an honored trustee of Hampden-Sidney College—a noble monument and fitting tribute to a worthy sire, a work which constitutes in effect a History of Virginia for the important Revolutionary years in which Henry was in public life. The present year, 1892, has brought Miss Kate Mason Rowland's *Life of George Mason*, telling of much the same important period, and particularly valuable as a picture of the old social life in Stafford and Fairfax counties. Mrs. Mary Anna Jackson's sketch of her deceased husband, Stonewall Jackson, is another biography of the year. May the coming years of 1893 and 1894 and thereafter prove equally prolific! Earlier biographies and notable ones—in each case the result of filial devotion—were Lyon G. Tyler's *Life and Times of the Tylers*, and Mrs. Corbin's *Life of her father, Commodore Maury*. This indicates that members of historic families and natives of an historic State are not devoid of interest in their past—and it is characteristic to note how much of this work woman is doing—only may this interest become still more widespread and potent! Dr. John H. Bocock, in the Selections from his Writings, so fortunately given us by his widow to inform the world of still another Virginian with a brain and a heart—a work which had its origin in our own community—suggests in one of his firing essays that to recount the lives of Virginia's Judges and Attorney-Generals and great lawyers would alone make a work comparable to Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*.

I should like to ask how many of the noted men who have labored in Prince Edward have had their life-work faithfully and lovingly and piously recorded? Of the many famed Presidents of Hampden-Sidney College there exists biographies of only two: that of Archibald Alexander by his son, and that of Lewis W. Green; and the latter, at least, was written more from another point of view. Surely the founders and early pioneers of religion and education in Cumberland, Prince Edward and Charlotte counties—for the three have been associated in education and religion and culture since the ministry of

Samuel Davies—deserve more special tribute. Of at least two there should be additional memorials. One, the New Hampshire scholar, who, as President of Hampden-Sidney, erected the college building, first placed the institution on a firm footing, seconded in every way, though not a Presbyterian, the establishment of the neighboring Theological Seminary, and interested himself in all that pertained to the culture and welfare of the State. The other, that most loyal of Virginians, and as eminent in scholarship and literature as in good works, who founded and built the Theological Seminary in the face of such obstacles and opposition as would have caused a weaker man many times to quail. Dr. Maxwell's Memoir of Dr. Rice—the author, by the bye, one on the list of Presidents of the College—however excellent, and although to my mind one of the very choicest bits of biography from a Virginian's pen, where the writer is kept obscured in the background and the story of the life told in that most charming and eloquent of manners, through letters and diaries wherever possible, has, by no means, exhausted the material. And yet the work of either—so arduous, so patient, so far-seeing, so rich in results and extended in influence—will hardly be found recorded in current cyclopaedias.*

We need, too, contributions to the records of Virginia's *intellectual* life. Interested naturally in my own department, I have taken the trouble to investigate the history of the study of English philology and literature in the Virginian colleges, and have been surprised at the wealth of the material, the number of efforts made independently at different times and by different scholars within the past century for the extension of a knowledge of the history of the language; and I hope soon to write out some of the notes I have collected for the Modern Language Association. Similarly I would suggest to any one interested a sketch of the study of the different sciences in Virginia, with the contributions to those departments, from the earliest times; of the work in mathematical pursuits; of the interest in the ancient languages; a history of philosophic thought and contribution; a critical estimate of Virginian contributions to *belles lettres*, poetry, essay-writing, and fiction; and so forth in every department of knowledge and thought.

*Note.—I am unable to explain positively the *absence* of Dr. Rice's name from the *Presbyterian Encyclopedia*—probably due to some gross oversight.

On the one hand the investigation of the history of the theological movements and religious interests in Virginia, and on the other that of the pursuit of the law, the study of government and the kindred interest of statesmanship, would prove especially fascinating and remunerative. The last number of the *Virginia Medical Monthly* announces that Dr. Joseph Price of Philadelphia, a Virginian by birth, has offered a prize of \$100 for the best worthy essay on the History of Surgery and Surgeons in Virginia. May still others employ similar efforts in stimulating investigation!

There is particularly rich material still to be worked up in the *religious* history of the colony and state, — the relations between church and state in the early period, the rise and progress of the several religious orders, episodes in the data of the Episcopalian, the Presbyterian, the Methodist, the Baptist, the Quaker, the Lutheran, and the other churches; the history of numberless parishes and congregations — supplementing and correcting Meade and Slaughter and Foote and Semple and Taylor and others. Were a copy of the records of the old Hanover, and then the West Hanover, Presbytery from the beginning preserved in the Theological Seminary Library — perfectly safe as a fire-proof building — as are those of the Lexington Presbytery, students of either institution could discover much of value in the history of Presbyterianism in Prince Edward and the Southside. Especially needful is the presence of such a copy on the "Hill" in order to possess the original documents pertaining to the rise and growth of both institutions in our community.

Much of the work with my last year's class was engaged in gathering statistics bearing upon the *educational* history of the State—an inquiry into the number of students from each county and town for definite periods of time, in the history of William and Mary and Washington and Lee, based upon their general catalogues, as one of the factors in estimating their influence and usefulness. The same remains to be done for our own college (when the General Catalogue appears), the State University, Randolph-Macon, and all other institutions. It would enable us to see what counties had been foremost in this work of education, and how many possibly had never sent a single youth off to college. Similarly, one of my students undertook to note from the Princeton General Catalogue the Virginians graduating at Princeton as well as the Princeton graduates who afterward labored in

Virginia. This is intended as the beginning of an examination of the influence of Princeton upon Virginian education and culture. Thomas Jefferson's complaint, which he turned into an argument for the establishment of home schools and a state university, is almost too well known to bear repetition, that half of the students at Princeton were from Virginia.

In amassing further data for the educational history of Virginia, a number of questions are to be answered : How many Virginians were educated at Harvard and still other institutions ? How many were sent abroad to European universities ? From what sources have we received the deepest outside influences upon our educational life and methods ? On the other hand, how many representatives of other states have been educated *in Virginia* ? To what extent has the educational system of Virginia, through the medium of its several institutions, been imposed upon every Southern state ? How far-reaching has been the influence of Thomas Jefferson's school idea and elective system, as practised at the State University, upon the higher education of the country ? In his historical sketch of education in Virginia, Prof. Adams suggests that this influence extended even into the North as far as Massachusetts ; and I was interested in hearing recently a Bostonian warmly recognize the merits of the Virginian scientist, William B. Rogers, and the indebtedness to him of scientific instruction through the founding of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Commodore Maury is an example of another name important for discoveries in the annals of science.

The history of Virginian *journalism* is another subject suggested to a member of last year's class to begin work on, going back to the palmy days of Ritchie and Pleasants and Thompson and Daniel and Bagby and Chamberlayne, and beyond. This would include an account and critical estimate of the *Southern Literary Messenger*, the chief exponent of Virginian and Southern literary culture for the quarter of century immediately preceding the war. The history of this journal has interested me personally so much that I have taken copious notes and extracts from its thirty volumes, and I hope to utilize these for a sketch at the earliest opportunity. Before this even, as one of the earliest Virginian pioneers, come the eleven volumes of Dr. John H. Rice's *Evangelical and Literary Magazine*, and later is *De Bow's Industrial Review*, published in Charleston and New Orleans, a repository for varied

information on Virginia and all the Southern States, and by far the ablest ante-bellum expositor of Southern resources and possibilities, and warmest defender of Southern principles and interests.

Other subjects, chiefly on *local* matters, suggested to the same class, were as follows: a bibliography, as complete as possible of all the addresses delivered on public occasions at the College, giving subject, description of content, and orator; extracts from the society records bearing upon the inner history of the College and the social conditions of student life; further, note of questions debated within the past hundred years illustrative of contemporary politics, life, and thought; the history of Dr. John Peter Mettauer's Medical College, a mile distant, near Worsham; of the successive well-known female schools in and near the same village; of Judge Creed Taylor's Law School at Needham, just across the river in Cumberland; traditions and reminiscences and records of the Randolph family and John Randolph current in the neighborhood of Farmville and throughout Cumberland, Prince Edward and Charlotte, supplementary to the biographies; Dr. Bagby's localities in Buckingham and Prince Edward, and his Appomattox sketches as interpretive of Southside conditions; the Israel Hill colony in Prince Edward and other instances of freeing slaves in Virginia; Prince Edward in war time and in the late war; Hampden-Sidney students in all four wars; Virginians and Virginian influence in North Carolina, in Kentucky, in Texas, etc., (these subjects for students from those States interested in tracing some connection by immigration, education, and otherwise); old families and homesteads of Prince Edward which have disappeared; colonial antiquities in Prince Edward, old residences, quaint bits of architecture and artistic work, silver plate, furniture, glass, portraits, libraries, of the eighteenth century.

A catalogue of the birds and insects, flowers and plants, minerals and peculiar conditions of soil, common to Prince Edward, requires, perhaps, too much technical scientific knowledge to expect as yet many to give their attention this turn. But let those one or two members of the Junior Class who have become interested in the corruptions of language and peculiarities in speech, continue with note-book in hand marking the presence of dialect manifestations in Virginia. Two tentative articles on this subject have already been written by Professor Sylvester Primer, a New Englander, now of the University of Texas.

I am sure that a spirited sketch of the social life on the "Hill" in the past, gotten from records and traditions, contrasted with the present, would be acceptable to the editors of this MAGAZINE. It would be an interesting commentary on college cousinships, so common among us, to have an article naming the various relations of each student on this or last year's roll—grandfather, father, uncle, brother, or first cousin—who had matriculated at Hampden-Sidney before him. A further reference to the society records would give an idea what each of these "ancestors" went in for as a college student, and to what extent the laws of heredity hold. It would be interesting, in the same connection, to obtain a series of brief sketches of college life and boyhood's times at the old place from some of the oldest and most prominent living Alumni of the college. Will not some one collect a bibliography of all known and accessible books and pamphlets and articles written within the past one or two years by graduates of these two institutions or by persons connected with them, as an index of the intellectual activity and influence upon the thought of the day on the part of the men turned out from or associated with these walls? And then this could be carried back, as far as the material might be ascertained, indefinitely. Some representative institutions like the Johns Hopkins University and Columbia College in New York publish such bibliographical material in their circulars, thus actually using it as a means of legitimate advertising.

As regards our own history, the preparation of the General Catalogue, for which efforts have been made time and again in the existence of the College, has shown how difficult it is to find out facts even a few decades old when the material has not been preserved and once become lost. The publication of this catalogue will revive interest and be an incentive for further inquiry and investigation. There is every evidence that much material painfully collected as far back as thirty odd years ago by Professor Charles Martin, who interested himself greatly in these matters as in many others pertaining to the welfare of the institution, was never published through indifference and became possibly permanently lost through later neglect.

The assistant librarian of the year is making out a list of all books and pamphlets of Virginian authorship or in any way related to Virginian life, preserved in our college library. A similar list of all that the neighboring Seminary library contains will give

us the complete bibliography of the resources accessible on the 'Hill." When the State Library moves into its new quarters, which are at last being prepared, and becomes for all practical purposes a public library, and is newly catalogued, we may hope to find out its treasures. One of the most laudable attempts of the managers of the Virginian section of the World's Fair is to get together a complete set of books and pamphlets and papers by Virginian authors, or relating to Virginia and Virginians, catalogue them, place them on exhibition and finally present them to the State for preservation. Such a list will greatly assist the historian of Literary Effort in Virginia—another subject which I confess has peculiarly attracted me, and on which I have succeeded in amassing material obtained from most unexpected sources.

The Columbus festivities of the season have emphasized the importance of Mr. Alexander Brown's two volumes on the Genesis of the United States, which offer fresh material to the inquiry into the early settlement of America by the English in Virginia despite Spanish jealousy and opposition. It would have been a most appropriate contribution for some other member of the Virginia Historical Society to recount Virginia's further share in settling the continent, founding the Union, and developing the liberty idea among the States. The *Richmond Times*, not unnaturally, takes to task the recent Columbian orators for omitting all reference to Virginia's share in this great work, albeit portraits of Washington were displayed along the avenues side by side with those of Columbus. Then Virginians must supply the defect!

Several of the war articles in the *Century* series were from Virginian pens, and it is to be hoped that some were incited to write further and more fully of their reminiscences and experiences. The late Col. William Allan's volume is the last I have seen advertised. A paper by Mr. Philip A. Bruce of Richmond, on the agricultural conditions of the first twenty years of the Virginian colony at Jamestown, read before the Historical Society in last December, leads one to look forward to a permanent contribution from the same pen on the economic history of the State. Likewise, the store-house of information anent the minutest details of the past, which the Secretary of the Historical Society, Mr. R. A. Brock, possesses, makes his friends hope that this rare accumulation will be directed to a history of his native city, Richmond.

These instances are given as indications, among others, of the

interest that is here and there taken, and with the most creditable and flattering results. But this interest still lacks sufficient material support.

It is a pity that we have no State Historical organ, or other magazine, where loose notes and references and miscellaneous matter might be brought together and preserved. I make no doubt that this is the chief reason why the work actually done is so scattered and desultory, and that the lack of a medium of publication, more than anything else, deters from keener activity. It is too bad to be compelled to send valuable notices to a daily newspaper, where it is to be thrown on the morrow into the waste basket and sold for rubbish. For instance, within the past year I have come across an account book of expenses and inlays kept by the late John Holt Rice from Sept. 12, 1807, to September 6, 1810 while pastor and teacher in Charlotte, filled with miscellaneous details illustrative of the life of the day and the character of the man; also manuscripts, letters, and the diploma of the Rev. Henry Pattillo, who received in 1786 the first honorary degree of this College—not to mention other matters—and these subjects possess interest for even a wider circle of readers and community than our own, and are eminently worth copying and writing up. But when this is done, what disposal shall be made of them?

If our State Historical Society ever becomes better supported, it will, doubtless, be able to publish any and all papers presented which are at all fit. This possibility would add tenfold to historic production in the State, I feel convinced. All the more praiseworthy, therefore, are the efforts that our colleges have been making. The Board of Washington and Lee University have been publishing a series of pamphlets relating to the early history of that institution. Richmond College has organized an Historical and Geographical Society for the avowed purpose of interesting its students from all parts of the State in their history, and invites periodically distinguished speakers to address them. William and Mary College, under the direction of its President, Mr. Tyler, has just entered upon a quarterly publication, reproducing data from old records connected especially with the history of Eastern Virginia. It is natural that an institution with its past should retain this interest. The State University is as yet silent, though a newspaper paragraph speaks of an appropriation of \$500 by the Board of Visitors for the purpose of advertising the University at

the Columbian Fair and elsewhere, to take the form of an historic sketch and of photographs of the buildings and grounds. Personally, I should much rather see at present all efforts at historic periodical publications concentrated under the direction of a state organ, though looking forward to the time when historic interest should be so universal that each institution would likewise be able to support its own.

As regards methods of conducting an investigation and collecting material, I shall add but a word, as I have already developed this paper into a much longer article than had been my intention. A note-book for one's private work is a good, but primitive way—for no man, of course, can carry facts and figures and exact citations about in his head. Then, too, there is no sense in abusing one's mind, when one may retain the same things on a slip of paper kept conveniently near. The simplest and surest way is to have a slip or page or stiff card, large enough to hold what is wanted, and to write down carefully any single fact or circumstance or allusion; then on another slip or card, any other point, and so on, only one reference being on each piece, and each piece being kept perfectly distinct and independent. The advantage of this is that it allows infinite possibilities of shifting and shuffling the slips in proportion to the growth of sub-division of a subject. If anything is copied or quoted, see that the precise words are taken down once for all, and the exact reference given, so that there may be no need of duplicating work and that the reference may be easily verified. Have the point correct the first time and keep it so. These slips and cards will naturally increase in number, even into the thousands, as the subject progresses, and facts and thoughts and data multiply. When this becomes the case, they may be very easily arranged and classified, and each little group held together with a rubber or cord, and the small bundles placed in proper pigeon holes or corners of boxes. This system is simply reducing everything to order and proportion. The disadvantage in keeping a blank-book for so much miscellaneous matter is that it is next to impossible to find what one wants in a book filled with jottings taken down at random; and the arranging afterward involves copying, and this means loss of time. When all the material has been collected and duly classified and ordered, the reduction to a permanent form is a very simple matter. With the facts all before one, the growth of the article becomes self-impelled.

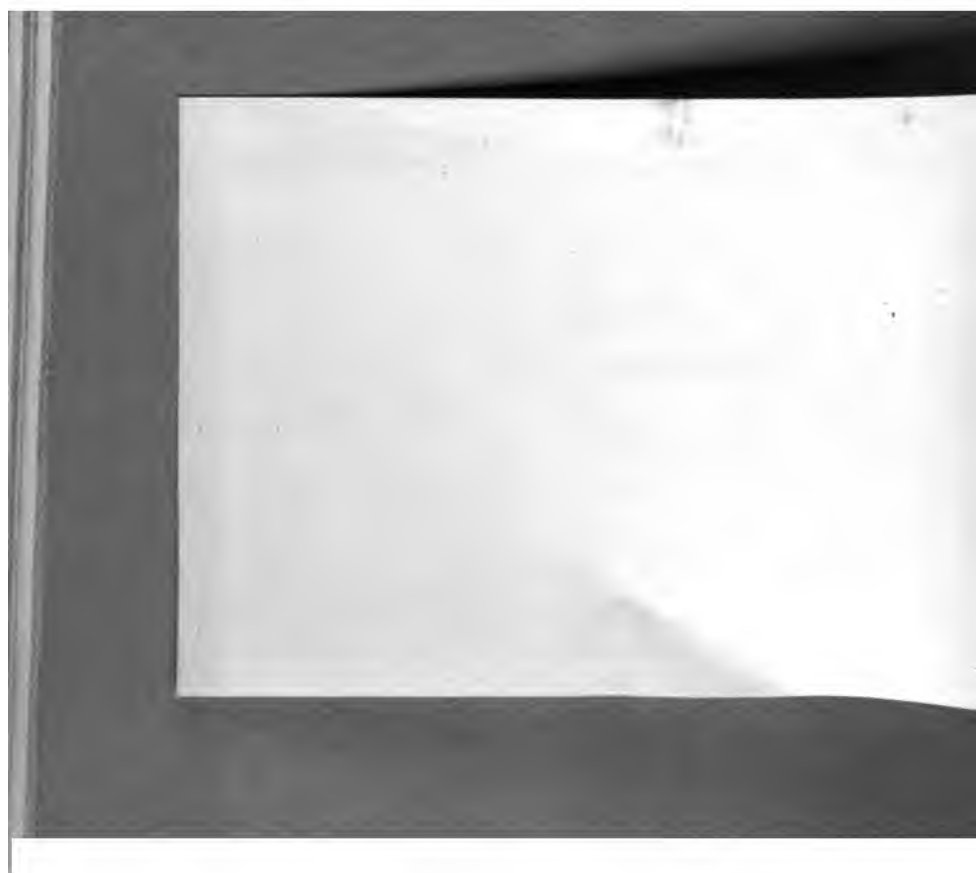
These suggestions have been made to those beginning such work in order to insist on method from the outset. Hap-hazard work produces no results, and always must be gone over again ; and while a thing is being done, it might just as well be done for good, so as to be cited, however slight the matter, as authority. By stressing attention upon a definite point, any one may soon become authority on that point at least, and know more about it than others who have not had the opportunity nor taken the trouble to investigate it.

I have here spoken freely and candidly, as I always try to do with my students, and I hope, practically ; and while these suggestions have been jotted down hurriedly, I trust that some points may have arrested the attention of some one. We teachers must work in the faith that some inspiration may be given here at College, which our students may carry away with them for their whole life-work, and that this effort and zeal on their part may be directly traceable to our doors. If it should be the case that any work be produced in the future relating to Virginian life in any of its numerous phases, I hope our good College may get the credit for it, as, in her past history and present position, inspiring this interest. And we will hope, too, that much of this effort may be directed upon her own history and the further investigation of her own conditions.

J. B. HENNEMAN.

Hampden-Sidney College.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Virginia Historical Society,
WITH THE ADDRESS OF
WILLIAM WIRT HENRY
ON THE
EARLY SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA,
FEBRUARY 24, 1882.



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Virginia Historical Society

AT THE

ERRATUM.

In the first and second lines of the Address, p. 10, instead of the words, "*16th June, 1621*," read "*3d February, 1620*."



RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
MDCCCLXXXII.

WM. ELLIS JONES.
PRINTER,
RICHMOND, VA.

ORGANIZATION
OF THE
Virginia Historical Society.
1882.

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HENRY COALTER CABELL.

PROCEEDINGS.

The Annual Meeting of the Virginia Historical Society was held in the Hall of the House of Delegates of Virginia, in the Capitol at Richmond, Friday, February 24th, 1882, at 8 o'clock in the evening.

The meeting was called to order by Vice-President Henry, and the Hon. Beverley Randolph Wellford, Jr., requested to preside.

The Corresponding Secretary and Librarian, R. A. Brock, in behalf of the Executive Committee, read the report of that body. He also read the report of the Treasurer.

Mr. James Lyons, Jr., for the nominating committee, reported a list of officers and committees for the year 1882. They were unanimously chosen.

Vice-President Henry then addressed the Society.

At the close of the address the Hon. Anthony M. Keiley offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Vice President Henry for his learned, able and instructive address, a copy of which is hereby requested for publication with the proceedings of the Society on this occasion.

REPORT

OF THE

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

We have just cause to congratulate the Society upon the highly encouraging progress it has made during the past year, both in membership and material acquisitions.

It is worthy of remark also, that the interest which has been manifested in its welfare has not only pervaded our whole country, but has extended across the Atlantic, and we have had gratifying demonstrations that the descent of the "Ancient Dominion," after a lapse of nearly three centuries, is still warmly regarded in the Mother Country.

We have the great pleasure to report that the Society now bears upon its rolls an aggregate membership of 592, which comprises 30 honorary, 63 corresponding, 52 life, and 447 annual members. Of the last named class, the whole number may be said to have been acquired since February 1, 1881, as, for several years prior to that time, the Society being unable to offer a publication as an equivalent, no subscription had been asked of such members, and no obligation rested upon them.

The additions during the past year in the remaining classes have been: 17 life, 13 corresponding, and 7 honorary members.

During the same period, the Society has added by gift to its library and collections: 171 bound volumes, 304 pamphlets, a number of files of newspapers, bound and unbound, many valuable MSS. and autograph letters of distinguished persons, and various memorials and objects of interest.

The most important single acquisition was the generous gift of the Hon. W. W. Corcoran, (a Vice-President of the Society), of the *Original MS. Records or Entry Books of the Colony of Virginia for the five years (1752-1757) of the administration of Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie.*

Among other gifts of significance and value may be mentioned the following :

The writing-table of George Mason of "Gunston," upon which he prepared the famous Bill of Rights of Virginia—presented by his great-grand-son, George Mason, Esq., Alexandria, Va.

The original commission (dated April 4, 1707,) of Robert Hunter, (who being captured by the French on his voyage from England, never served as designed) as Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia—presented by Charles P. Greenough, Esq., Boston, Mass.

Two maps of Virginia, bearing date 1671; *Notes on Columbus*, a privately printed and sumptuous volume; 21 bound volumes of the New York *World*, 1861–1867 inclusive—presented by S. L. M. Barlow, Esq., New York City.

The Correspondence of the Hon. Archibald Stuart, comprising letters from many of the most eminent American statesmen of his day; the sword of Major Alexander Stuart, a patriot of the Revolution, used by him at the battle of Guilford Court House—presented by the Hon. Alex'r H. H. Stuart (the President of the Society), Staunton, Va.

The Adams and Massie family papers, a most valuable and interesting collection, commencing in the year 1670; The pistols and sash of a British officer, captured during the Revolution, and afterwards used by Major Thomas Massie of the 2d Va. regiment—presented by Mrs. Elizabeth, relict of the late Col. Thos. J. Massie, Nelson Co., Va.

Various family papers and relics—presented by Colonel Thos. Harding Ellis, late of Richmond, now of Chicago, Illinois.

An original Fry and Jefferson's Map of Virginia, of 1775—presented by the Hon. Robert W. Hughes, LL. D., Norfolk, Va.

A copy of Stuart's Indian Wars of Virginia in 1774, in the autograph of Colonel Thomas Lewis—presented by Col. John L. Eubank, Warm Springs, Bath Co., Va.

Various volumes from the library of Richard Henry Lee, bearing his autograph—presented by Cassius F. Lee, Jr., Esq., Alexandria, Va.

Six volumes of the *National Intelligencer*, covering the period June 6, 1848—May 28, 1857; Report of the Revisors of the Civil Code of Virginia, made to the General Assembly in 1846 and 1847—interleaved and annotated—presented by Col. J. Marshall McCue, Afton, Va.

Four large boxes of newspapers and pamphlets—presented by Mrs. W. B. Caldwell, White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia.

Three large boxes of newspapers and pamphlets—presented by Mrs. M. A. Sitlington, Millboro' Springs, Va.

The MS. Order-book of Col. Wm. Heth of the Revolution, whilst encamped at Bound Brook, New Jersey, in 1777—pre-

sent by the Rev. Philip Slaughter, D. D., Mitchell's Station, Culpeper Co., Va.

Did not the limits of the present occasion forbid it, we would have pleasure in rendering specific acknowledgment for many additional memorials of value and interest.

The correspondence of the Society, and other duties incident upon its reorganization, during the past few months, have been so onerous, that the preparation of a catalogue of its library has not as yet been within the accomplishment of the incumbent of the combined offices of Corresponding Secretary and Librarian.

The number of bound volumes, however, may be stated as exceeding 11,000, to which may be added several thousand pamphlets. The Society's collection of portraits, twenty-eight in number, comprises the following subjects: Pocahontas (two of), Earl of Essex, Captain George Percy, Lord Culpeper, George Washington, Martha Washington, Patrick Henry, Peyton Randolph, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, Lafayette, Arthur Lee, Edmund Pendleton, John Marshall, Duke de Lauzun, Gerard, John Randolph of Roanoke, Hugh Nelson, Commodore Oliver H. Perry, Governor Wm. B. Giles, Black Hawk, and Rev. M. D. Hoge, D. D. The walls of the Westmoreland Club-House, in which the Society is generously allowed its present quarters, are hung with many additional objects of interest—engraved portraits, relics, historic documents, etc., the property of the Society. The MSS. and autograph letters of the Society are now in course of arrangement, the last in scrap-books. Until the task may be completed, the definite number cannot be stated, but it is thought to exceed 2,000.

The library is duly provided with handsome cases, and the exhibit is one alike creditable to the Society and to the State. So inestimably valuable indeed is it—so essential in the elucidation of the history of Virginia, and in vindication of her fame, and so irreparable would be its loss, that it is a duty from which we must not shrink, to plead with this assembly its claims to a durable repository, and due provision for its safety against all accident. This can only be assured in the possession by the Society of a fire-proof building of its own. Who, among the

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.
MDCCCLXXXII.

THE ADDRESS.

In a speech delivered by Lord Chancellor Bacon on the 16th June, 1621, in reply to the Speaker's oration, that celebrated man gave utterance to these words: "This Kingdom, now first in his Majesty's times, hath gotten a lot or portion in the New World by the plantation of Virginia and the Summer Islands. And certain it is with the kingdoms on earth, as it is in the Kingdom of Heaven, sometimes a grain of mustard seed proves a great tree. Who can tell?" What that great man hoped for and hesitated to foretell has been realized in a manner far beyond the most glowing conception of his wonderful genius. The little English colony planted at Jamestown in 1607 proved to be the germ of a great people. Less than three centuries have passed by and they occupy a vast continent, and number more than fifty millions. Had that feeble colony perished, as did those previously sent out from England, the Spaniards, who claimed by right of discovery by Columbus in 1492, and by grant from Pope Alexander VI, in 1493, and who were already planted in Florida and Mexico, would have controlled the colonization of North America, as they did that of South America, and to-day North and South America would alike present the wretched appearance of a mongrel population, the admixture of three races—Spanish, Indian, and African. In a word, North America would have been Mexicanized.

But an overruling Providence ordered it otherwise, and North America, through the Virginia settlement, was secured to the English race and to English civilization.

If the importance of an event is measured by the consequences which flow from it, then the planting of the English colony at Jamestown must be considered one of the most important, if not the most important, of the events which have been recorded in secular history. Not only followed from it the possession of this vast and fertile continent by the foremost race of the earth, resulting in a people who have secured to themselves the highest

development and greatest political freedom, and have reacted with powerful effect upon the civilization and institutions of the Old World, but from this beginning there was developed a system of colonization which has made the people of the little isles of Great Britain the greatest power of the earth—the greatest power which has ever been upon the earth, “a power [in the eloquent words of Webster] which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.”

Since the world has been so wonderfully affected by the planting of this colony, it well becomes us to preserve with religious care the memory of the men to whom we are indebted for its success.

The London Company which sent it out was composed of the best and most honored men of the kingdom, and among the men who composed the colony are names conspicuous for intellect and public services; but the names oftenest mentioned in connection with the Virginia settlement, and which have excited the greatest interest, are those of Captain John Smith, the preserver of the colony, and Pocahontas, the preserver of Smith, and the constant friend of the English. For more than two hundred and fifty years historians have delighted to relate their services, often quoting the quaint, terse language of Smith's History in giving his adventures, and especially his rescue from death by Powhatan's “dearest daughter,” at the risk of her own life, when as her father's prisoner he was condemned to die.

In all that time no one discredited Smith's account of the colony, if we except Thomas Fuller, whose groundless sneer at Smith in his “Worthies of England,” only demonstrated his ignorance of the sources from which Smith drew the material for his history.

Thus the matter stood till the year 1860, when Mr. Charles Deane, of Massachusetts, edited with notes, for the American Antiquarian Society, of which he was a member, “A Discourse of Virginia, by Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president of the Colony,” which was then first published from the original manuscript in the Lambeth Library. This tract is found in vol. iv of the “Archæologia Americana.” In one of his notes to this publication Mr. Deane suggested a doubt as to the truth of

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Smith's account of his rescue by Pocahontas. In 1866, Mr. Deane edited with notes a reprint of "A True Relation of Virginia, by Captain John Smith," and renewed his attack on Smith's veracity. During the next year Mr. Henry Adams followed up the attack by an elaborate article, contributed to the January number of the *North American Review*. In the year 1869 the Rev. Edward D. Neill published a "History of the Virginia Company of London," in which he not only endeavored to destroy the character of Smith, but that of Pocahontas, and of her husband, John Rolfe, as well. This author has been followed by Wm. Cullen Bryant and Sydney Howard Gay in their History of America, published in 1876, and by others.

So persistent have these assaults been that it seems to be the fashion now with those writers who are content to act the part of copyists, to sneer at the veracity of Smith, the virtue of Pocahontas, and the honesty of Rolfe. The more generous task of making their defence shall be mine.

In order that there may be a better understanding of the discussion proposed it may be proper to recall certain well-attested facts relating to the early colonial history of Virginia.

The colony which made the first permanent settlement was sent from England by "The Virginia Company of London," to whom had been given the rights of colonization previously granted to Sir Walter Raleigh by Queen Elizabeth. Sir Walter had planted a colony at Roanoke Island, on the coast of North Carolina, but it had perished, and his further efforts had been thwarted. The London Company, during the year 1606, fitted out their expedition in three vessels. The *Sarah Constant*, in charge of Captain Christopher Newport, the commander of the expedition, carried seventy-one men; the *Godspeed*, in charge of Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, carried fifty-two men; and the *Discovery*, a pinnace, in charge of Captain John Ratcliffe, carried twenty men. Leaving the Thames on 19th December, 1606, they were detained in the Downs by bad weather till the 1st January, 1607. On the 26th of April following they were driven by a storm into the Chesapeake Bay,* and on the 13th of May they

* The Indians had informed the English at Roanoke Island of this bay, and it had been determined by Raleigh to attempt a settlement on it. When the Virginia Company sent out this colony they were directed to search for it. It

landed at Jamestown, where they determined to settle. Upon opening their sealed instructions they found that the London Company had appointed for their government a council, composed of Edward Maria Wingfield, Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and John Kendall. They chose Wingfield to be president. Captain John Smith had been charged during the voyage with fostering a mutiny, and was under arrest when they landed. His innocence was made manifest, or, at any rate, his accusers failed to convict him, and on the 10th June he was permitted to take his seat in the council. After exploring the James river to its falls, Captain Newport sailed for England, on the 22d of June, to bring additional colonists and supplies, and he arrived at Jamestown on his return on the 8th January, 1608. He found that matters had not gone well during his absence. Want of suitable food, and a climate to which the men were unaccustomed, had caused much sickness and death. Among the council Captain Gosnold was dead, and Wingfield and Kendall had been deposed, and were under arrest upon serious charges. The difficulties through which the colony had passed had developed the fact, however, that there was one man among them of genius equal to the enterprise. That man was Captain John Smith. He had commenced exploring the country and trading with the Indians for corn, by which he supplied all the wants of the colony, and three times he had prevented their abandonment of the settlement in the pinnace, which Newport had left behind. During one of his expeditions up the Chickahominy some of his men had been killed, and he captured, but by address he had procured his release, and been sent back with an escort to Jamestown, where he arrived the day of Newport's return. Newport found him, however, in great peril; for Gabriel Archer, Smith's enemy, who had been improperly made a councillor during his captivity, on his return had caused him to be arrested and tried upon the charge of being accessory to the murder of the two men he had with him when he was captured by the Indians. Upon this pretext he was condemned to die, but the arrival of Newport saved him. When Newport sailed again for England,

had been demonstrated that the bad harbor at Roanoke Island rendered that place unfit for a settlement.

on the 10th of April following, he carried with him both Wingfield and Archer. And, upon his arrival in England, Wingfield wrote a defence of his administration, which is known as "Wingfield's Discourse of Virginia." The Phoenix, commanded by Captain Nelson, arrived after Newport's departure, having been separated from him on the voyage from England. This vessel returned to England on the 2d June, 1608, and carried a letter written by Smith to a friend, relating what had happened in the colony. This letter, as published in 1608, is known as "Smith's True Relation," or, "Newes from Virginia."

Smith continued his explorations and trade, and with the assistance of Pocahontas, who exerted a great influence over her father, kept the colony well supplied with provisions. On the 10th of September, 1608, he accepted the presidency, which office he filled with great credit. His adventures among the Indians, as related by his companions, were very remarkable, and he inspired the Savages with a wholesome fear of himself, which proved of great advantage to the infant colony. Pocahontas was his fast friend, and saved the English on more than one occasion, not only by supplying their wants, but by informing Smith of the plots of the Indians against them. During the fall of 1608 Newport brought a second supply of colonists, and on his return to England carried a map of the country and a description of the inhabitants, prepared by Captain Smith, which were published in 1612 at Oxford. The returns from the colony had not been profitable, and a change of charter was obtained on 23d May, 1609. By its provisions the government was no longer vested in a president and council, but in a governor, to be appointed by the London Company. Sir Thomas West, Lord Delaware, was appointed governor, and he sent Sir Thomas Gates as his Lieutenant, to reside in the colony. In October, 1609, Smith sailed for England, and never returned. He left the colony at the close of his presidency in a hopeful condition. It consisted of upwards of four hundred and ninety persons seated at Jamestown, and several other places. They had twenty-four pieces of ordnance, and three hundred stand of small arms, with sufficient ammunition, three ships and seven boats, a store of commodities to trade with the natives, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks provisions in store, six hundred swine, with some goats and sheep, and many domestic fowls. They had become well

acquainted with the natives, their language and habitations, and could muster, if need be, one hundred well trained soldiers.* Everything looked to a permanent and successful colony. But the departure of Smith changed the whole aspect of affairs. The Indians at once became hostile, and killed all that came in their way. The ships were lost, the provisions were wasted, and a famine set in, accompanied by the diseases which invariably attend it. Within six months after Captain Smith left them, there were not over sixty alive, and these could hardly hope to live ten days longer. Sir Thomas Gates had been shipwrecked in coming over, and had remained at the Bermudas to refit. When he arrived at Jamestown he beheld the ghastly spectacle of a dying colony. He abandoned all hope of reviving it, and taking the survivors aboard he set sail for England. Before they got out of the river, however, they were met by Lord Delaware, who had determined to visit the colony himself, and had brought three ships well provisioned. He carried the remnant of the colony back to Jamestown, and by his wise administration put new life into the enterprise, the practicability of which had been demonstrated by Captain Smith.

After Smith's departure Pocahontas refused to visit Jamestown, but continued to show kindness to the English who fell into her father's hands. In 1613 Captain Argall induced her to visit his ship at anchor in the Potomac, made her a prisoner and carried her to Jamestown. In 1614 she became a Christian, and was married to John Rolfe, one of the colonists. Her marriage brought peace with the Indians. Sir Thomas Dale, who was

* This statement of the condition of the colony is taken from the Oxford Tract, compiled from the writings of Smith's companions; and from Purchas' Pilgrims. vol. iv, p. 1731, where it is taken from the same writers. It has been disputed chiefly upon the statements of the Virginia Assembly in 1624, styled "A Briefe Declaration of the plantation of Virginia during the first 12 years, &c.," vol. i of Colonial Records of Virginia. This paper states (p. 70) that the men landed by Sir Thomas Gates fell upon the seven acres of corn planted, "and in three days, at the most, wholly devoured it." Doubtless the words, "the harvest newly gathered," used at a later date, referred to the harvest of the Indians, for which there were ample commodities to trade.

Raleigh Crashaw was a member of the Assembly of 1624, and he endorsed Smith's History of Virginia, which copies this statement from the Oxford Tract. The account of suffering afterwards carried to England by the Swallow, referred to what happened after Smith left the colony.

acting as governor, carried her with her husband and child to England in 1616, where she was handsomely entertained by the London Company and others, the queen and her court paying her marked attention. As she was about to return to Virginia she was taken sick, and died at Gravesend on the 21st of March, 1617.

The grounds of Mr. Deane's attack on Smith's veracity may be briefly stated as follows: Smith came to Virginia in 1607 and returned to England in 1609. Accounts of what happened during his stay in the colony were written by himself and others, and many publications concerning the early history of the colony were made, but no mention was made in any publication of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas, as is claimed, till 1622, when Smith published a second edition of a tract entitled "New England Trials," which contains an allusion to it; and it was only in Smith's "General History of Virginia," published in 1624, that the full details were given. It is charged that the prominence to which Pocahontas had attained in 1616 induced Smith to invent the story, in order that he might associate her name with his own. Mr. Deane also claimed that the account of Smith's treatment at the hands of the Indians while their prisoner, given at the time in his letter known as the "True Relation," differs materially from that given in the "General History," and that all the later accounts given by Smith of his early adventures show considerable embellishment, and are unworthy of belief.

Those who have followed in the wake of Mr. Deane have endeavored to point out many inconsistencies between the accounts given by Smith in his different publications relating to the same matters, and he has been painted by one at least, (Mr. Neill,) as a braggart and a beggar, and unworthy of belief generally.

It is proposed to examine these several grounds of attack in detail, and to show that in no instance has a falsehood been fixed on Smith, but that his writings, where they have been disputed, are so fully sustained that they constrain our belief.

The first ground of attack is the alleged omission of all allusion to Smith's rescue in his early writings and those of his contemporaries. If this be shown, and cannot be properly explained, it will beyond doubt give rise to a painful suspicion as to the truth of the subsequent account, given after Pocahontas had become an object of public interest. But it will only raise doubt

as to Smith's veracity. A mere failure of the early writers to mention the incident does not amount to proof that it never occurred. If, however, the silence of these earlier publications can be satisfactorily explained then the attack based upon it utterly fails.

The books which relate to the early history of the colony, and which it is claimed should have noticed the rescue, are—

1. "A True Relation of Virginia," or "Newes from Virginia," the letter written by Captain John Smith, and published in London 1608.

2. "A Discourse of Virginia," written by Edward Maria Wingfield, the first president, and printed first in 1860.

3. "Historie of Travaile into Virginia," by Wm. Strachey, secretary of the colony from 1610 to 1612, printed first in 1849.

4. "The proceedings of the English colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England in the yeere of our Lord 1606," printed at Oxford 1612, and known as the second or historical part of the "Oxford Tract," Smith's map and description of the country being the first part.

5. "Purchas' Pilgrimage," by the Rev. Samuel Purchas, printed in 1613, and republished in 1614, 1617, and 1626.

6. "A True Discourse of the present estate of Virginia," &c., by Ralph Hamor, late secretary in the colony, printed in 1615.

As the first of these publications was written by Captain Smith himself, and gives an account of his captivity among the Indians, its failure to record his rescue by Pocahontas is considered the strongest evidence of the falsity of the account given by him years afterwards. Indeed the force of the attack upon Smith, inaugurated by Mr. Deane, will be found in this alleged omission. But what are we to think of the argument when we learn, what is undoubtedly true, that this letter has never been published as Smith wrote it. Parts of it were suppressed by the person who published it, who, in a preface signed with his initials "J. H.," states that fact, and this preface was republished by Mr. Deane in 1866, along with the garbled letter. The preface gives an account of how the publisher came by the manuscript, and of a mistake in printing some of the copies under the name of Thomas Watson instead of Captain Smith, the true writer, and then these words follow: "Somewhat more was by him written, which

being, as I thought, (fit to be private,) I would not adventure to make it publicke."

What was thus omitted from the letter in its publication has never been known. Until the letter has been reproduced as Smith wrote it, however, it is simply absurd to attempt to build an argument against Smith's veracity upon its alleged omissions. This answer to the main ground of attack would seem to be complete, and yet more may be added. We are not left entirely in the dark as to what was omitted by the publisher. He continues his preface as follows: "What may be expected concerning the scituation of the country, the nature of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their government and living, the commodities to be produced, and the end and effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written. Only what I have learned and gathered from generall consent of all (that I have conversed with all) as well marriners as others which have had employment that way, is that the country is excellent and pleasant, the clime temperate and healthfull, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former having indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succede may at ease labour for their profit in the most sweete, cool, and temperate shade."

Two things are evident from these sentences, one, that what was omitted could only relate to the narrative of what had happened to the colonists, all else had been given fully to the public; another, that the desire of the publisher was to encourage further emigration to Virginia, and therefore what he left out of the narrative was in all probability matters which might tend to discourage emigrants.

This concealment of all matters tending to discourage emigration was enjoined on the colonists by the London Company, in the instructions given them when they sailed. A copy of these instructions is in the Library of Congress in manuscript. It has been printed by Mr. Neill, in his "History of the Virginia Company of London," pp. 8 to 14 inclusive.

In it we find the following words, "You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captain Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities

you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letters of anything that may discourage others." * *
 "Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success, is to make yourselves all of one mind, for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God, the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

It is very probable from his preface that the publisher of the "True Relation" was a member of the London Company. He says, "happening upon this relation by chance, (as I take it at second or third hand) induced thereunto by divers well wishers of the action, and none wishing better towards it than myself, so faire footh as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it."

He doubtless knew of the instructions of the Company to the colonists, and whatever he found in the letter of Smith which, in his judgment, was contrary to those instructions, and should not have been made public, he suppressed. Certain it is we find either as the work of Smith, or of the publisher, that several matters well attested by writers who published later, were omitted from this letter as published.

The following may be noted in this connection. During the voyage out, Smith was arrested on the charge of being implicated in an intended mutiny, and was thereby prevented from taking his seat in the Council for some time after the arrival at Jamestown. This is stated in the Oxford Tract, and the statement is corroborated by Wingfield in his "Discourse of Virginia," in his admission that he was fined £200 for slander in making the charge. No mention is made, however, of the charge, of the arrest, nor of the detention from his seat, in the "True Relation." The Oxford Tract informs us of three several efforts to abandon the colony, which were prevented by Smith at considerable personal hazard, and Wingfield admits that he offered £100 towards "fetching home the collonye, if the action was given over." No mention is made of these efforts to abandon the colony in Smith's letter, as published. The only passages which seem to make any allusion to the matter are found on pages 17 and 21. The first is in the following words: "Time

thus passing away, and having not above 14 daies vituals left, some motions were made about our presidents and Capt. Archer going to England to procure a supply." The other is as follows: "Our store being now indifferently well provided with corne, there was much adoe for to have the pinnace goe to England, against which Capt. Martin and myselfe standing chiefly against it, and in fine after much debatings pro and con, it was resolved to stay a further resolution." These passages indicate no effort to abandon the colony, but seem to have been worded so as to avoid that construction.

We have seen that on Smith's return from captivity, Archer had him tried and condemned, as accessory to the murder of his men who were slain by the Indians. Wingfield mentions this, and that he was saved from death by the timely arrival of Captain Newport. The "General History" also confirms Wingfield's account, but the published letter of Smith makes no mention of the matter.

The same reasons which determined Smith, or his publisher, to omit these well-attested incidents, doubtless induced the omission of the circumstances of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas, and of his deliverance by the Indian chief, Opechankanough, soon after his capture, when he was tied to a tree and his captors, who had promised him safety, were preparing to shoot him.

As the unjust treatment of Smith, indicating serious contentions amongst themselves, and the efforts to abandon the settlement, would have a tendency to "discourage others," and check emigration; so it might have been believed, and doubtless was, that a publication of the treacherous disposition of the Indians, which led them to break faith with their prisoners, and to put them to death contrary to their stipulations of surrender, and after their King had professed friendship, as we shall see he did, would have the same tendency; and we have seen that the colonists were forbidden to write anything home which might have that effect.

Another reason may be assigned also for Smith's not mentioning his rescue by Pocahontas in this letter. We are told in the Oxford Tract, that when Smith was arrested on the voyage to Virginia, the charge against him was that, "he intended to usurpe the government, murder the councill, and make himself king"; and when he was about to return to England in 1609, to be

treated for his wound, his enemies trumped up several frivolous charges against him, and one was, that "he would have made himself a king by marrying Pocahontas, Powhatan's daughter." (See Purchas' Pilgrims, vol. iv, p. 1731, where Richard Pots is given as authority for the statement which is taken from the Oxford Tract.) There can be no doubt of the fact that Pocahontas was greatly attached to Smith. The writer just quoted, in defending Smith from the charge, says, "Very oft she came to our fort with what she could get for Captain Smith, that ever loved and used all the country well, but her especially he much respected, and she so well requited it that when her father intended to have surprised him, she by stealth in the dark night came through the wild woods and told him of it. If he would, he might have married her." The "General History" states also (p. 112) that "though she had beene many times a preserver of him (Smith) and the whole colony, yet till this accident (her capture in 1613) she was never seene in Jamestown since his departure." With such charges brought against him on the voyage, and the disposition of his enemies to renew them, Smith might very well think it most prudent to say nothing in his letter of the affectionate conduct of the Indian Emperor's daughter towards him.

But whatever may have been the reason that this letter, as published, did not mention Smith's rescue by Pocahontas, enough has been said to show that its omission affords no ground for charging that the detailed account subsequently given, when the reasons for silence had ceased to exist, was false.

The silence of Wingfield as to this incident was to be expected. He and Smith were bitter enemies. Smith had recovered against him in a suit for slander, and had been active in having him deposed from the presidency, and keeping him a prisoner. Wingfield's object in writing was to defend himself, and to throw all the blame he could upon his enemies. Although his "Discourse of Virginia" purports to give what happened from day to day, yet it was evidently written in England after his return. He tells us (p. 91) that "somewhat before this tyme, (the execution of Kendall) the President and Councill had sent for the Keyes of my Coffers, supposing that I had some wrightings concerning the Collony. * * * Under cullor heereof they took my books of accompt, and all my noates that concerned the ex-

penses of the Collony, and instructions under the Cape-marchant's hande of the Stoare of provisions, and divers other bookes and trifles of my own proper goods, which I could never recover." In the preface, addressed apparently to the council in England for Virginia, he says, "My due respect to yourselves, my allegiance (if I may so term it) to the Virginean action, my good heed to my poore reputation, thrust a penne into my handes, so jealous am I to bee missing to any of them." We may safely conclude, therefore, that if he made any notes in Virginia they were taken away from him, and that he only commenced his manuscript, setting forth the defence of his administration, after he was freed from the imprisonment imposed upon him in the colony.

It would have been very remarkable if a writer so situated, and having such an object in view, had recorded in his book the passionate attachment of Pocahontas for Smith. He, indeed, makes no allusion to Pocahontas at all, although it is very certain she was frequently in Jamestown before he left on the 16th. April, 1608, some three months after Smith's return from captivity. His account of Smith's captivity is very brief, and it would probably have been altogether omitted did it not enable him to strike at Archer, his bitterest enemy, who was, as he relates, improperly sworn as one of the Council during Smith's absence, and who attempted to put Smith to death on his return. He relates Smith's voyage up the Chickahominy until he could go no further in his canoe. He then adds the following: "Then hee went on shoare with his guide, and left Robinson and Emmerly, twoe of our men, in the cannow; which were presently slayne by the Indians, Pamaonke's men, and hee himself taken prysoner, and by the means of his guide his lief was saved; and Pamaonke, having him prisoner, carryed him to his neybor, Wyroances [chiefs], to see if any of them knew him for one of those which had bene, some twoe or three yeeres before us, in a river amongst them northward, and taken awaie some Indians from them by force. At last he brought him to the great Powaton (of whome before wee had no knowledge), who sent him to our towne the viij of January."

This short passage is all that Wingfield devotes to the incidents of a captivity extending through at least a month, and which cover in narration a dozen pages of Smith's printed letter.

The disposition to say nothing to Smith's advantage is apparent. It is undoubtedly true that Smith so impressed himself upon the Indians while their captive, that he was sent back to Jamestown unhurt, and with an escort of honor. This we learn from "Purchas' Pilgrims," at page 1709, of volume iv, upon the authority of Anas Todkill, one of the colonists. Wingfield makes not the slightest allusion to this remarkable fact, but credits the saving of his life to his guide, whom Smith had tied to him when attacked by the Indians, and used as a protection from their arrows, as we learn from the "True Relation." Wingfield alludes to the incident in so loose a manner as to leave the impression that the Indian guide saved Smith after his capture instead of before.

That Wingfield was very careless in his statements is abundantly shown in his book. We need cite but one instance more of his want of accuracy. We have seen that he states that they had no knowledge of the Emperor Powhatan, before he sent Smith back to Jamestown on the 8th of January, 1608, but at pages 77 and 78 of his narrative he had previously stated that on the 25th of June, 1607, this same emperor had sent a messenger to Jamestown and sought their friendship.

We need not be surprised therefore that this careless writer, whose sole purpose was to defend himself from the charge of misbehavior in office, should omit all allusion to Smith's rescue.

William Strachey came to Virginia with Sir Thomas Gates, who arrived on the 23d May, 1610.

Upon his return to England in 1612, he published at Oxford a book he styled "Laws for Virginia." Prefixed to this book is an "Address to His Majesties Councell for the Colonie of Virginia Britannia," in which he says: "When I went forth upon this voyage (right worthy gentlemen), true it is, I held it a service of dutie (during the time of my unprofitable service, and purpose to stay in the colonie, for which way else might I adde unto the least hight of so heroicke and pious a building), to propose unto myself to be (though an unable) remembrancer of all accidents, occurrences, and undertakings thereunto adventitious; in most of which, since the time our right famous sole governor then, now Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Gates, Knight, after the unsealing of his commission, hasted to our fleete in the West, there staying for him, I have, both in the Bermudas, and since in Virginia, beene a sufferer and an eie-witnesse, and the full storie

of both in due time shall consecrate unto your views, as unto whome by right it appertaineth. * * * * Howbeit, since many impediments as yet must detain such my observations in the shadow of darkneses, untill I shall be able to deliver them perfect unto your judgments, I do, in the meantime, present a transcript of the *Toparchia*, or state of those duties by which their Colonie stands regulated and commaunded," &c., &c.

His determination thus expressed seems never to have been carried out. The only subsequent writing of the author on Virginia matters, of which the world has any knowledge, is a volume published in 1849 by the Hakluyt Society, entitled "The Historie of Travaille into Virginia," from a manuscript of the Sloane Collection in the British Museum, edited by R. H. Major, Esq. This volume contains two books, each having ten chapters. The first, as we are informed by the editor, the author designated, "The First Book of the First Decade," and the second, "The Second Book of the First Decade." It appears by this that the author intended to continue the work, dividing it into sections of ten books, or decades.

The first of the published books treats of Virginia, the second of New England, but neither enters into the history of the colonies. The title pages show that such was not the object of the writer. The book treating of Virginia has the following, "The first book of the history of travaille into Virginia Britannia, expressing the cosmographie and commodities of the country, together with the manners and customes of the people, gathered and observed as well by those who went first thither, as collected by William Strachey, Gent., three years thither employed secretaire of State, and of counsaile, with the right Honorable, the Lord La-warre, His Majestis Lord Governor and Captain General of the Colony."

This book mentions Pocahontas in giving the names of her father's children, and gives the several names by which she was called. It also illustrates the manners and customs of the Indian girls by describing her playing with the boys at Jamestown when under thirteen years of age. Nothing is said, however, about her services to Smith or to the colony, they being reserved, doubtless, for the proposed history. Much of the book is taken from Smith's description of the country and its inhabitants, annexed to his map of Virginia. The author evidently had the greatest

confidence in Smith, as is shown by his reference to him on page 41, in speaking of some of the Indian tribes. He says: "Their severall habitations are more plainly described by the annexed mappe set forth by Capt. Smith, of whose paines taken herein I leave to the censure of the reader to judge. Sure I am there will not returne from thence, in hast, any one who hast bene more industrious, or who hath had (Capt. Geo. Percie excepted) greater experience amongst them, however misconstruction maye traduce here at home, where is not easily seene the mixed sufferances, both of body and mynd, which is there daylie, and with no few hazards and hearty griefes undergon." On the margin of this passage the author has these words, "A dew remembrance of Capt. Smyth, vide lib. iii, cap." This third book, never written, so far as we know, was designed doubtless to give the "accidents, occurrences and undertakings" in the Colóný during the time of Captain Smith, which embraced the first three years of its existence. Had the author written this third book and left out the rescue of Captain Smith by Pocahontas, it would have been an omission of importance in this discussion, but that he left the rescue out of a book only relating to the "cosmographie and commodities of the country, together with the manners and customes of the people," is not at all remarkable and of no importance whatever.

The next work relied on to impeach Smith's veracity is the historical, or second, part of the publication known as the "Oxford Tract." It has the following as a title page:

"The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England, in the Yeare of our Lord, 1606, till this present, 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Journies and Discoveries. Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the Bordering nighbours, and how they became subject to the English. Unfolding even the fundamental causes from whence have sprang so many miseries to the undertakers and scandals to the businesse. Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley, the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell, Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniel Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho. Hope, Rich. Potts, and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia. And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in England that

were actors in this business. By W. S. At Oxford. Printed by Joseph Barnes, 1612."

It appears by an address to the reader, signed by T. Abbay, and a note addressed to Captain Smith by Dr. Symonds, and printed on the last page of the volume, that it was compiled by Richard Pots out of the writings of a number of Smith's companions in Virginia, "whose discourses are signed by their names," William Simons (or Symonds), Doctor of Divinity, then gave it an editorial supervision, and passing through the hands of many to peruse, it chanced in the hands of Thomas Abbay, who knowing, as he says, the writers to be honest men, and being a witness to a part of the transactions, published it. The first part of the Oxford Tract consists of a map of Virginia, with a description of the country, its climate, soil and productions, and an account of the natives. This was the work of Smith, as we learn in his "General History," where it is reproduced. The second or historical part, contains none of Smith's writings. Dr. Symonds, in his note to Smith, states that it was compiled from the discourses and relations "of such which have walked and observed the land of Virginia with you." It is a thin volume, and only purports to be a condensation of the writings of the colonists. The incidents of Smith's captivity are related in these words: "A month those Barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphes and conjurations they made of him, yet he so demeaned himselfe amongst them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the Fort, but procured his owne libertie, and got himselfe and his company such estimation amongst them, that these Salvages admired him as a demi God. So returning to the Fort, &c."

The writings from which this tract was compiled have not been preserved, and we know not what they contained other than what is contained in the compilation. When they were penned, the instruction not to write home "anything that may discourage others," was still in force, and doubtless caused the omission of many incidents of personal hazard. Whether these original manuscripts contained any allusion to Smith's rescue, we can never know with certainty, but the fact of its omission from a condensed compilation of them, can have no weight against Smith's reiterated statements concerning it.

The Rev. Samuel Purchas, in his work, called "Purchas, his Pilgrimage," first published in 1613, used the Oxford tract in

writing of Virginia, but condensed it further. He does not enter into the particulars of Smith's captivity; all that he devotes to it is in these words: "but after a month he procured himselfe not only libertie, but great admiration amongst them, and returning, &c." Nothing, therefore, can be concluded against Smith's account of his captivity by reason of this book, more than is proved by the omissions from the Oxford Tract. As this writer afterwards bore testimony to the truth of Smith's "General History" in more ways than one, it can hardly be seriously contended that the omission from the several editions of his Pilgrimage of all allusion to Smith's rescue, can be relied on to prove Smith's account of it false, even though one edition was issued after Pocahontas visited England.

The next writer, relied on by the assailants of Smith, is Ralph Hamor. His book was printed in 1615, and bears the title, "A true discourse of the present estate of Virginia, and the successe of the affaires there till the 18 of June, 1614, together with a relation of the severall English townes and fortes, the assured hopes of that countrie and the peace concluded with the Indians. The christening of Powhatan's daughter and her marriage with an Englishman. Written by Raphe Hamor the yonger, late Secretarie in that Colonie."

This writer does not enter into the history of the Colony during Smith's stay with it. He came with Sir Thomas Gates, along with William Strachey, in 1610, and his earliest historical allusions are of that date. He tells of the capture of Pocahontas, and of her marriage to Rolfe, but he makes no allusion to her previous history. Had he undertaken to recount her services and left out her rescue of Smith, it would have been evidence against the truthfulness of Smith's account, but it cannot be thought strange that he did not mention this one incident of her previous life, when he mentioned no other. This writer also declared his intention to write a history of the Colony from its beginning, which he never carried out, so far as is now known.

The assailants of Smith admit that his statements in the "True Relation" are true. Indeed, they base their arguments upon that assumption. If, however, the silence of Wingfield, of Strachey, of the Oxford Tract, of "Purchas' Pilgrimage," and of Hamor, is to be taken as evidence of the falsity of Smith's statement con-

cerning his rescue, it will equally disprove the many incidents of his captivity given in the "True Relation" and not mentioned in these works.

Let us now examine the second ground of attack, namely, the alleged inconsistencies between the "True Relation" and the subsequent publications of Smith.

At page 16 of the "True Relation" an account is given of an expedition by Smith to Kegquouhtan, or Kecoughtan (now Hampton) to procure corn by trade with the Indians. No mention is made of an attack on the natives. In the "General History," in an account of the same expedition, at page 45, it is stated that he fired on the Indians, and captured their idol, called "Okee." In both accounts, it is stated, that at first the Indians treated Smith and his companions scornfully, thinking they were famishing men, but afterwards brought them such provisions as they needed. The reason why the attack was left out of the letter sent to England by Smith in 1608 is evident from the narrative in the General History itself. After stating the scornful reception given Smith by the Indians, it continues, "But, seeing by trade and courtesie there was nothing to be had, he made bold to try such conclusions as necessitie inforced, though contrary to his commission, let fly his muskets, ran his boat on shore, whereat they all fled into the woods," &c., &c. We find in the instructions, sent with the Colony by the London Company, this direction, "In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it." (See Neill's "Virginia Company of London," p. 11.)

This was Smith's first trading expedition, and in order to supply his wants, he found it necessary to disobey instructions. We can well understand why he might not choose to relate his disobedience to orders in his letter to England, and his not doing so should not throw even a suspicion on his statement subsequently given in the History. There is an expression in the account of this expedition found in the Oxford Tract, however, which is corroborative of the statement of the attack found in the "General History." The Oxford Tract has the following account: "Being but 6 or 7 in company, he went down the river to Kecoughton, where, at first, they scorned him as a starved man. Yet he so dealt with them, that the next day they loaded his

boat with corne." How he dealt with them is explained in the account found in the "General History." It is apparent that there is no contradiction between Smith's several accounts but a mere omission of the attack in one of them, for which the publisher may have been responsible.

In the "True Relation" Smith gives an account of his capture, in which he states, that having carried his barge up the Chickahominy river as far as he could, he determined to hire a canoe with which to continue his explorations. He thereupon carried the barge back to the Indian town, Apocant, and left it there with seven men, expressly charging them not to go ashore until his return. He then took two of his own men and two Indians as guides, and went forward with the canoe some twelve miles higher than he had been able to go in the barge, and then going ashore with one of the Indians, he left the other and his two men, Robinson and Emry, with the canoe. He had not gone far before he was attacked by the Indian chief, Opechankanough, with 200 men, by whom he was captured, and who informed him that the men at the canoe were slain. In the "New England Trials," published in 1622, in referring to his capture, Smith says, "It is true, in our greatest extremitie, they shot me, slew three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled, took me prisoner." Both, Mr. Deane and Mr. Adams, are severe in their criticisms upon this last statement of Smith, treating it as a slander upon the men he lost. They claim that it is inconsistent with the first account, and Mr. Adams pronounces it mendacious, and "credible neither to Smith's veracity nor to his sense of honor." It would have been more creditable to these critics had they read carefully the several accounts given by Smith of this matter before they criticised any one of them. The "True Relation" does not say what became of the men left with the barge at Apocant, but the "General History," at p. 46, says of them, "but he was not long absent, but his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the salvages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not to have cut off the boat and all the rest. * * * The salvages having drawne from George Cassen, whether Captain Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity, they followed him with 300 bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who, in divisions,

searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fire-side, those they shot full of arrowes and slew. Then finding the Captaine, as is said," &c. It is plain, from this narrative, that the "want of government" of the men left with the barge resulted in the capture of George Cassen, and the information obtained from him enabled the Indians to capture Smith. All seven of the men left with the barge went ashore, and as they were armed, it was reasonable for Smith to have believed that had they stood by each other and not fled, Cassen would not have been captured, and if Cassen had not been captured, he himself would not have been; when he says, therefore, "by the folly of them that fled," in the passage in the "New England Trials," he means what he described in the "General History" by the words "want of government," and this he ascribes to the men left at the barge and not to the men left at the canoe. So far from charging the men at the canoe with having fled, he tells us in the "General History" that he supposes that they were asleep when they were killed.

Strachey, at page 52 of his book, gives a corroboration of Smith's statement, that Cassen was slain because of disobedience to the order not to go ashore till Smith's return. In relating the manner in which the Indians put to death their enemies, Strachey says: "Thus themselves reported that they executed an Englishman, one George Cawson, whom the women enticed up from the barge unto their houses, at a place called Apocant."

The several accounts given by Smith, of his treatment while a captive, have been claimed to be inconsistent, and so determined has been the effort to show inconsistencies, that some of the passages compared have been made to suffer torture. The first passages so compared are the statements of what occurred immediately on the capture. In the "True Relation" Smith says: "I perceived by the abundance of fires all over the woods at each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they used me with what kindness they could."

In the "General History," after describing his gift to their King of his "round ivory double compass Dyall" soon after his capture, and their admiration of it, he continues as follows: "Notwithstanding, within an houre after they tyed him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him, but

the King holding up the compass in his hand, they all laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted and well used." The real difference in these accounts consists in the latter giving the preparation to kill him, and his preservation by Opechankanough's holding up to view the wonderful compass. The kindness of their treatment otherwise is stated in both narratives. When we remember that the "True Relation," which omits this incident, has never been published as Smith wrote it, we cannot conclude that Smith in that letter made no allusion to it. It may be that he gave it, and his editor included it in the omitted items.

The printed text of the "True Relation" indicates, in fact, that something was omitted from the manuscript just where this incident should have come in. The reader will have noticed doubtless that the sentence quoted from the "True Relation" is ungrammatical and incoherent as it stands. If, however, something was omitted from the manuscript between the words "woods" and "at," we can understand how the want of connection in the sentence was produced.

It is claimed that the accounts of the provisions given Smith, and the guard put over him the first night after his capture, are conflicting, as they appear in the "True Relation," and the "General History." Let us compare them. The accounts of his first night's treatment are as follows:

In the *True Relation*, "The Captain conducting me to his lodging, a quarter of Venison and some ten pound of bread I had for supper, what I left was reserved for me, and sent with me to my lodging."

In the *General History*, "Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirtie or fortie tall fellowes did guard him, and ere long more bread and Venison was brought him then would have served twentie men."

There is not the slightest inconsistency in the accounts. A quarter of venison and ten pounds of bread were more than enough to serve twenty men. The careless critics, however, have confounded his subsequent treatment as detailed in the "True Relation," with what happened on the first night, and thus have created the apparent inconsistency they claim to have discovered. After the passage just given the narrative in the "True Relation"

continues: "each morning 3 women presented me three great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could devour I had, my gounne, points and garters, my compass and a tablet they gave me again, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could devise to content me; and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection." It is apparent from this that as they became better acquainted the guard was reduced from the thirty or forty of the first night to eight ordinarily. There seems to have been but little reduction in his provisions. Three great platters of bread and more venison than ten men could devour might still be more bread and venison than would have served twenty men, and thus, as to the provisions, there would have been no real inconsistency had this referred to the first night.

After his capture, Smith was carried to several places by Opechankanough, and at each found a house of the great Emperor, Powhatan. In the "True Relation" (p. 30) he says, speaking of this Emperor to Opechankanough, "to him I tolde him I must goe, and so return to Paspheigh," (the Indian name for Jamestown.) This statement has been criticised by Mr. Adams. He says: "Only a few days after he (Smith) was taken prisoner, he represents himself as giving orders to Opechankanough to take him to Powhatan, and even at this time he knew he was to be allowed to return to Jamestown." This, Mr. Adams thinks, is inconsistent with Smith's statement in the "General History," that he expected all the time of his imprisonment to be put to one death or another.

Wingfield, in his Discourse, (pp. 77-8,) states that on the 25th of June preceding Smith's capture, the Emperor Powhatan sent a messenger to Jamestown, offering peace and friendship. It was natural for Smith, when the captive of a king who was in subjection to the Emperor, to ask to be carried to Powhatan, with whom the Colony had already entered into articles of friendship, and had he demanded to be carried to him, he would have but claimed a right, which, by boldness, he was endeavoring to make his captor respect. The language of Smith, however, may as well be considered a request as a command.

The treatment which he received when he was carried before Powhatan is differently related in the "True Relation" and the

"General History," and this difference has doubtless given rise to the attacks upon Smith's veracity. Let us compare the two accounts :

From the *True Relation*, "Hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of Sundrie Victuals, assuring me his friendship, and my libertie within four dayes, hee much delighted in Opechanconough's relation of what I had described to him and oft examined me upon the same."

From the *General History*, "Having feasted him after their best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held, but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan, then as many as could layd hands on him, dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head, and being ready with their clubs to beate out his brains, Pocahontas, the King's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevaile, got his head in her armes, and laid her owne upon his to save him from death, whereat the Emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads and copper."

We have already seen that the omission of his rescue from the "True Relation" might well have been made by Smith, or by the publisher of that partially printed letter, under the instruction from the London Company, the treacherous conduct of Powhatan towards his prisoner and the colony being calculated to discourage others from coming to Virginia. An examination, however, of the text of the "True Relation" just cited, discloses the fact that the publisher must have left out a part of what Smith wrote in describing his first interview with Powhatan, at which interview his condemnation and rescue occurred. It is apparent that all that is printed up to and including the word "dayes," relates to what happened at the time Smith was brought before Powhatan, while the words which immediately follow, only separated by a comma, namely, "hee much delighted in Opechanconough's relation of what I had described to him, and *oft* examined me upon the same," relate to what happened in subsequent interviews, when some of the wonders of geometry and astronomy, explained to Opechankanough by Smith, were the topic of conversation.

The text, as it is, presents an abrupt transition from the inter-

view of the first day to the interviews of subsequent days, which can be satisfactorily explained only upon the theory of an omission by the publisher of part of the occurrences of the first day, and an effort to conceal the omission by the arrangement of the text presented.

The "True Relation," in describing Smith's return to Jamestown, says: "Hee sent me home with 4 men, one that usually carried my gowne and knapsack after me, two others loaded with bread and one to accompanie me." The "General History" says: "So to Jamestown with 12 guides, Powhatan sent him." These statements are claimed to be contradictory. It is evident, however, that in the first account Smith merely gave the number of men detailed to wait upon his person, while in the second he meant to enumerate the entire company sent as guides, probably a misprint for guards. That the men sent with him numbered more than four is shown by the parallel passage in Purchas' Pilgrims (vol. iv, p. 1709), which is given from the writings of Anas Todkill, and is also found in the "Oxford Tract." Says this writer: "Powhatan having sent with this Captaine divers of his men loaded with provisions, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie messengers to bring but two or three of our great ordinances, but the messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged, ran away, amazed with fear." We are told in the "True Relation" that Smith had described to the Indians the ordnance, in order to prevent an attack on the fort. The messengers sent with his letter to the fort, while he was a prisoner, had also seen these large guns. It must have been, therefore, that the "divers men" sent to bring two or three of them to Powhatan were more than four.

It is asserted by Mr. Adams and others, that Smith contradicts himself by representing in the "True Relation" that the Indians treated him with continual kindness, while, in the "General History," he says he was all the time of his captivity in continual dread of being put to death. When we remember that he was the captive of a savage people, who had killed his companions, it does not seem strange that no amount of kindness could allay his fears. It does seem strange that his critics should think otherwise, and should read so carelessly the texts they criticise. The passage they refer to in the "General History" is a part

of the account of his return to Jamestown, and is in these words: "That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting (as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment) every houre to be put to one death or other for all their feasting."

We have seen that in the "True Relation," soon after his capture, these words occur: "At each place I expected when they would execute me, yet they used me with what kindnesse they could." Afterwards it is related in this book that an Indian attempted to kill him while under guard, and that one of the places he was carried to was called Topahanocke, where it was sought to identify him as one of a party who, some years previously, had slain their King, and captured some of their people. Smith also tells us in this book that their excess of kindness aroused his suspicions. He says: "So fat they fed mee, that I much doubted they intended to have sacrificed mee to the Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they worship." Smith had, before his capture, formed a very correct estimate of the treacherous character of the Indians, and both accounts that he gave of his captivity show that his distrust of them kept him in continual fear of death at their hands. The expression in the "History," "for all their feasting," indicates the kindness shown him, which is detailed in the "True Relation." And if we have no details of cruel dispositions recorded in the "True Relation," such as are recorded in the "General History," we must remember that the "True Relation," as we have it, is a mutilated book, and that there was a reason for leaving out of it such incidents.

It has been claimed by both Mr. Adams and Mr. Neill that the accounts given by Smith, of what happened at Jamestown upon his return from captivity, are inconsistent. These accounts are as follows:

True Relation.

"Each man with truest signes of joy they could expresse welcomed me, except Mr. Archer, & some 2 or 3 of his, who was then in my absence, sworne counsellor, though not with the consent of Capt. Martin: great blame & imputation was laide upon mee by them for the losse of our two men which the Indians slew: insomuch that they purposed to depose me, but in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Captaine Newport, who arriving there the same night, so tripled our joy, as for awhile these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which Captain Newport in short time did plainly see."

General History.

"Now, in Jamestowne they were all in combustion, the strongest preparing once more to run away with the Pinnace; which with the hazzard of his life, with sakre falcon & musket shot, Smith forced now the third time to stay or sinke. Some no better than they should be, had plotted with the President, the next day to have put him to death, by the Leviticall law, for the lives of Robinson & Emry, pretending the fault was his that had led them to their ends: but he quickly tooke such order with such Lawyers, that he layd them by the heeles till he sent some of them prisoners for England."

The statements, that upon his return Smith prevented the running off with the pinnace, and caused the persons who had plotted his death to be arrested, and some of them to be sent to England, are those found in the "General History," which are claimed to be inconsistent with the narrative in the "True Relation." It will be seen that while they are additional to the first narrative, they are in nowise contradictory of it. That they are true we have the testimony of Anas Todkill, then with the Colony, who is cited by Purchas in his "Pilgrims," as recording that Smith, on his return, "once more staid the Pinnace her flight for England," and that Wingfield and Archer were carried to England by Newport on his return. Wingfield states also that Archer would have been hung, had not Newport advised against it.

Some of our critics have fancied that they have fixed a falsehood on Smith in his account of his first landing on the island of Mevis, related in the continuation of his "General History," and found in the second part of the Richmond edition of 1819, chapter 26. Smith says: "In this little (ile) of Mevis, more than twenty years agoe, I have remained a good time together, to wod and water and refresh my men." This was published in 1629, and refers to the touching at that island of the colony under Captain Newport on its way to Virginia in 1607. Our critics construe Smith's language to mean that he, and not New-

port, was in command of the expedition when they touched at Mevis. An examination of the context demonstrates that Smith meant to convey no such idea.

In the beginning of this continuation, and afterwards in this very chapter, Smith refers the reader for particulars as to the planting of the colony at Jamestown to the "General History." This book states the fact that Newport commanded the expedition; and the further fact that when they touched at the island of Mevis, Smith was a prisoner under the charge of plotting a mutiny. This last is referred to by Smith in this chapter in these words: "Such factions here we had as commonly attend such voyages, that a paire of gallowes was made, but Capt. Smith, for whom they were intended, could not be perswaded to use them." Had Smith intended to deceive, he would not have referred the reader to another volume, of which he was then writing a continuation, in which he had made a different statement. But any one familiar with the history of the colonization of Virginia will readily understand the expression, "my men," as used by Smith. The orders for the expedition, as published by Neill, show that soldiers under officers were a part of the colony; and Percy, in his narrative printed by Purchas in volume iv. of his "Pilgrims," tells us that while on this island they "kept centinels and Courts de gard at every captaine's quarter," fearing an assault from the Indians. There can be no doubt that Smith was one of the captains, not only from his previous military training and rank, but from the fact that we find among the verses addressed to him on the publication of his "General History," some by soldiers, who state that he was their Captain in Virginia. It should be remembered also that Smith was active in getting up the colony in England, and, upon their landing in Virginia, was soon looked upon as their leader. The "Oxford Tract" tells us that he saved the colony from starvation by the provisions he got from the Indians, and from extermination by the control he acquired over the Indian princes, and that he explored the country, built Jamestown, and prevented the colony from abandoning it. In fact, that he was the real founder of Virginia.* It was not improper, therefore, that he should claim that

* It has been claimed that Lord Delaware was the real founder of Virginia, because he prevented its abandonment in 1610, and by his wise administration

honor, as he does in the conclusion of this chapter upon the isle of Mevis. He says: "Now to conclude the travels and adventures of Captaine Smith, how he planted Virginia, * * * you may read at large in his generall history of Virginia, the Summer Iles and New England."

But we need not pursue this charge of inconsistencies further, as time would fail us to notice every inconsistency charged by the numerous and often ill-informed assailants of Smith. Those not noticed are even more easily disposed of than those we have already exposed.

The bitterest of all of these assailants is the Rev. E. D. Neill, who has written a history of the London Company. When King James determined to take away the charter of the London Company, in 1624, an attempt was made by its enemies to obtain its records. Thereupon the minutes were copied for the Earl of Southampton, the President, and this copy was afterwards bought by Colonel William Byrd, of Virginia, and was used by the historian Stith. Subsequently it came into the possession of Thomas Jefferson, and was purchased with Mr. Jefferson's library by Congress. These minutes only commence on the 28th of April, 1619. In the Congressional Library there are in addition two manuscript volumes, one containing letters of the Company and the colony, with other papers, from 1621 to 1625, and the other containing some copies of early colonial papers. These valuable manuscripts were used by Mr. Neill in the preparation of his book. He says at page v. of his preface, "On the 15th of July (1624), the King ordered all their [the Company's] papers to be given to a commission, which afterwards met weekly at the house of Sir Thomas Smith [the former treasurer of the Company]. The entries in the minutes were damaging to Smith and others of the commission, and it is presumed that no great effort was made to preserve the originals. Re-

put the colony on a firm footing.

Lord Delaware should have all honor for what he did for the colony, but before his arrival Smith had three times prevented its abandonment, had preserved it from starvation and destruction for nearly three years, and had left it, on a change of administration, in a condition to take care of itself with proper management. When a man goes out with a colony and accomplishes this much, he may be well called its founder.

peated searches have been made for them in England, but they have not been discovered."

At page 211 of his book, in a note, he says: "Captain Smith's 'General History' was published after the *Quo Warranto* was issued against the Virginia Company, and it is evident that he wrote in the interest of their opponents. There is no evidence beyond his statement, that the letters which he publishes as written to the Company were ever received by them."

Smith's "General History" was published in 1624, the year the Company's charter was taken from it, and when most of the members of the Company from its foundation were alive; and yet Mr. Neill would create the impression that Smith forged the letters to the Company which he published, when there were hundreds alive who would have exposed the forgery. The first letter given in the "General History" is found at page 200 (Richmond edition), and was in reply to a letter sent to the president and Council by the London Company, upon the return of Captain Newport in the fall of 1608. Smith had been made president in September of that year. The "Oxford Tract" tells us, "by the election of the Councill & the request of the company, Captaine Smith received the Letters Patents, which till then by no meanes he would accept, though he was often importuned thereunto." It thus became his duty to answer the communication from the London Company.

The second letter is found at page 79 of the second part of the same edition. On the 22d March, 1622, there was a terrible massacre of the colonists by the Indians. Smith, who was then in London, relates that he "did intreat & move them to put in practice his old offer, seeing now it was time to use both it & him;" and then follows the letter. The offer, which was to return to Virginia, was probably made before 1614, when he commenced exploring New England. Now, until we know that there is a complete collection of the company's letters preserved, nothing can be concluded against Smith, because his letters are not found among the records. Of course no letters before 1621 could be found, as the collection commences during that year; and as we learn from Mr. Neill's book that many of the papers were destroyed, and especially those which might be damaging to Sir Thomas Smith and others having possession of them under the King's commission, and as we find Captain Smith's

letters reflect upon the government of the colony under Sir Thomas Smith and his successor, we need not be surprised that Mr. Neill has not found them in the collection now extant.

Mr. Neill attempts to produce the impression that Smith, if wounded at all in 1609, did not leave the colony upon that account, and because there was no surgeon there to treat him, as he states in the "History," but that he left because he was arrested upon charges and sent to England. It so happens that the fact of his being severely wounded by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and the further fact that the lack of a surgeon determined him to sail for England in a ship preparing to leave Jamestown, are both related in the "Oxford Tract," and that Smith copies the passages into his "General History." The "Oxford Tract" relates also how charges against him, of the most frivolous nature, were gotten up by his enemies after he had determined to return.

It appears by the published list of original subscribers to the London Company that Captain Smith only subscribed nine pounds, and as in asking remuneration afterwards of the Company, he claimed to have spent upon Virginia "a verie great matter," Mr. Neill concludes that in this he was false. In his haste to condemn Smith he has not taken time to read him. At page 102, of the second part of the "General History" (Richmond edition), Smith states that he spent "more than five hundred pounds in procuring the Letters Patents and setting forward." His claim for special remuneration was not because of his subscription to the capital stock of the Company, as every member would have had the same ground of claim, but because of what he had expended and accomplished in addition, as his petition for reward, found in Mr. Neill's book, at page 214, plainly shows. That the committee to which his petition was referred allowed it, may be fairly inferred from a speech of Smith before the Company, reported by Mr. Neill at page 386.*

* On the 4th of February, 1623, Captain Smith, in a discussion concerning the salaries of officers, is reported to have said: "That havinge spent upon Virginia a verie great matter, he did, by God's blessinge, hope to receave this yeare a good quantity of Tobacco, which he would not willingly have come under the hands of them that would performe the buissiness for love, and not upon a good and competent salary." The same author shows that the Company owned much of the tobacco shipt from the colony, and Smith's expect-

Another intimation made by this writer is, that as the records do not show that Smith's offer to the company to write a history of Virginia was accepted, his statement in the book that he wrote it at the instance of the Company, is false. Mr. Neill has given us at page 210 the offer made April 12, 1621, which shows on its face that it was made upon the request of some of the members. What was the action of the committee to whom it was referred, we know not, so far as Mr. Neill's extracts from the records go, but as only a few of the papers of the Company have been preserved, nothing can be concluded from the absence of the committee's report, and it would seem unreasonable to discredit Smith's published statement in regard to the matter, made when so many witnesses were alive.

Without pursuing further the details of Mr. Neill's attack upon Smith, it will be sufficient to expose the character of his book for us to notice the authority he has followed in its preparation, and the manner in which he has followed it. At page 16, in a note, he says: "For the facts relative to the early days of the Colony, I am indebted to Wingfield's 'Discourse of Virginia,' edited by Deane, and Capt. Newport's 'Relation,' first printed from manuscripts in vol. iv, Am. Ant. Soc. Coll." The "Relation" of Captain Newport's discoveries in Virginia ended with his return to England, June 22, 1607 and Wingfield's "Discourse" takes up the narrative on that day. There is nothing derogatory to Smith in the first. On the contrary, it shows that Newport selected him as one of the persons to accompany him in exploring the James river, and on his return had him sworn one of the Council. In following the narrative of Wingfield, however, Mr. Neill has shown himself unworthy of confidence as a historian. The "Oxford Tract" is entitled to the highest credit as a record of the early history of the Colony. The Rev. Wm. Symonds, a minister of high character and considerable learning, compared it with the writings from which it was compiled. He then sent it to Captain Smith with a note, printed at the end of the volume, in these words:

tation could only have been founded on the allowance of his claim by the committee. The Company, however, was in difficulties, and its charter was taken from it during the next year, and before Smith received any reward for his expenditures and sacrifices.

"Captaine Smith, I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Mr. Crashaw requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses & hearing the relations of such which have walked and observed the land of Virginia with you. The paines I tooke was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceived of the expedition, give me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is anything but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict: the land is good; as there is no cities, so no sonnes of Anak: al is open for labor of a good and wise inhabitant: and my prayer shall ever be, that so faire a land may be inhabited by those that professe and love the Gospell."

In this book we have the following account of Wingfield's administration, commencing with the departure of Newport:

"Being thus left to our fortunes, it fortun'd that within tenne daies scarce ten amongst us coulde either goe, or well stand, such weaknes and sicknes oppressed us. * * * *
Had we beene as free from all sinnes as gluttony and drunkenness, we might have bin canonized for saints; But our President would never have ben admitted, for ingrossing to his private (use) otemeale, sacke, oile, acquavite, beefe, eggs, or what not, but the kettel; that indeede he allowed equally to be distributed, and that was halfe a pinte of wheat and as much barly boyled with water for a man a day, and this having fryed some 26 weeks in the Ship's hold, contained as many worms as graines; so that we might truly call it rather so much bran than corne: our drinke was water, our lodgings castles in the aire. With this lodging and diet, our extreame toile in bearing and planting pallisadoes, so strained and bruised us, and our continuall labour in the extremitie of the heate had so weakened us, as were cause sufficient to have made us miserable in our native country, or any other place in the world. From May to September, those that escaped lived upon sturgeon and sea-crabs, 50 in this time we buried. The rest seeing the President's proiects to escape these miseries in our Pinnace by flight (who all this time had neither felt want nor sickness) so moved our dead spirits, as we deposed him; and established Ratcliffe in his place."

George Percy, in the fragment of his narrative preserved by Purchas, relates that, "there was certaine Articles laid against Master Wingfield, which was then President, thereupon he was

not only displaced out of his Presidentship, but also from being of the Councill."

Wingfield, in his defence of himself, does not deny the charge of attempting to make his escape in the pinnace while he was president, although he denies the charge of feasting while the others were starving, and attempts to justify his administration at the expense of the rest of the colony. Purchas had before him, and cited the "Oxford Tract" and Wingfield's "Discourse" in preparing his books, and he knew personally no doubt the writers of both works, as he took part in the affairs of the London Company. With this great advantage he follows the "Oxford Tract," and condemns Wingfield's administration. Mr. Neill, however, with nothing like the advantages of Purchas, follows Wingfield, and discredits the other colonists. This might be attributed to want of sound judgment alone had he faithfully followed him; but what condemnation is too severe for one who omits from his citations of the author he professes to follow, facts tending to justify a good opinion of the persons that author was attacking. This is what Mr. Neill has done. At page 15 he says: "Dissensions arose during the voyage, and on the 12th of February John Smith was suspected of mutiny." On page 21, quoting from Wingfield the grounds of hostility towards him, he says: "Mr. Smyth's quarrel, because his name was mentioned in the intended and confessed mutiny by Galthropp." Mr. Neill makes no other allusion to this charge against Smith, but leaves his readers under the impression that it was true, or at least was never disproved. Now Wingfield, in the very book relied on by Mr. Neill, states enough to show that Smith was innocent of the charge. He says: "The 17th daie of September I was sent for to the court to answer a complaint exhibited against me by Jehu Robinson; for that, when I was president, I did saie, hee, with others, had consented to run away with the Shallop to Newfoundland. At another tyme I must answere Mr. Smyth, for that I had said hee did conceal an intended mutany. I tould Mr. Recorder those words would beare no actions; that one of the causes was done without the lymits mentioned in the Patent graunted to us. * * * The jury gave one of them 100, & the other two hundred pound damages for slaunder." This passage shows that the charge against Smith was made by Wingfield during the voyage, and was investigated in an action for slander, to which action

Wingfield's plea was that the slanderous words were spoken outside of the jurisdiction conferred by their patent, and that the jury convicted him of the slander, and fined him two hundred pounds.

Mr. Neill has not been content, however, to omit statements of fact as to Smith alone. He has treated all of Wingfield's opponents in the same way. On page 19 he thus relates the deposing of Wingfield: "At length a plot was formed by Ratcliffe, Smith, and Martin, to depose Wingfield and form a triumvirate. On the eleventh of September they brought him before them, Ratcliffe acting as president, and preferred the following frivolous charges: Ratcliffe charged that he had refused him a penny whistle, a chicken, a spoonful of beer, & given him bad corn; Smith alleged that he had told him he lied: Martin complained that he had been called indolent. After this he was placed on board of the pinnace in the river, and kept as a prisoner." The charges here given by Mr. Neill, and he gives no others, seem to have been verbal complaints against Wingfield, but not the charges upon which he was deposed. After mentioning these complaints, Wingfield says, "I asked Mr. President if I should answer theis compl'ts, and whether he had ought els to charge me with all, with that he pulled out a paper booke loaded full with artycles against me, and give them Mr. Archer to reade." None of these written charges are given by Wingfield, but he relates how he cut short their reading by appealing to the King. He adds: "Then Mr. Archer pulled out of his bosome another paper book full of artycles against me, desiring that he might reade them in the name of the Collony." He fails also to give these articles, but says of them, "I have forgotten the most of the artycles, they were so slight." Wingfield, while not giving the charges in detail, however, is evidently endeavoring to defend himself from them in his book, and we gather from the defence that they were, as stated in the "Oxford Tract," and not as given by Mr. Neill.

In order to strengthen his attack upon Smith, Mr. Neill brings to his aid the Rev. Thomas Fuller, who, in his "Worthies of England," gave a short sketch of Smith, in which this sentence is found: "From the Turks in Europe he passed to the pagans in America, where such his perils, preservations, dangers, deliverances, they seem to most men above belief, to some beyond

truth. Yet we have two witnesses to attest them—the prose and the pictures—both in his book, and it soundeth much to the diminution of his deeds, that he alone is the herald to publish and proclaim them.”

This description is witty, but false, and thus very characteristic of this writer. Fuller was noted for his want of accuracy, and especially was it shown in his “Worthies.” The material was collected during the civil war, and the book published in 1662, after the author’s death. One of the most learned men of that century was William Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle, who published a “History of Libraries” in 1696. In it he says of Fuller’s “Worthies,” “It was huddled up in haste for the procurement of some moderate profit to the author, though he did not live to see it published. It corrects many mistakes in his Ecclesiastical Story, but makes more new ones in their stead. * * * His chief author is Bale for the lives of his eminent writers, and those of his greatest heroes are commonly misshapen scraps, mixed with tattle and lies.” Alexander Chalmers in his Biographical Dictionary, considers this censure too great, but admits Fuller’s inaccuracies, and speaks of his “wit, which he could not suppress in his most serious compositions.”

The Rev. James Granger published a Biographical History of England in 1769. Chalmers testifies to its critical accuracy. The author describes Fuller thus, “He was unhappy in having a vein of wit, as he has taken uncommon pains to write up to the bad taste of his age, which was much fonder of conceit than sentiment.”

We need not be surprised, therefore, at finding that Fuller sacrificed truth to wit in his sketch of Smith. That he has done so is apparent to any reader of the “Oxford Tract,” which was compiled from the writings of eye-witnesses, and contains nearly every incident of Smith’s life in Virginia.

The latest attack upon Smith is contained in a volume written by Charles Dudley Warner, Esq., and published during the year 1881, by Henry Holt & Company, of New York. We learn from the preface that the author was engaged to treat of his subject “with some familiarity and disregard of historic gravity.” Accordingly we find the book is a labored effort to ridicule

Smith, and the author has succeeded in making a caricature of him.

But a single example need be given to show how utterly unreliable his picture of Smith is. At page 116, in quoting from the "General History" the account of the capture of Smith in the Chickahominy swamp by the Indians, the following is given: "Then finding the Captaine, as is said, that used the salvage that was his guide as his shield (three of them being slain and divers others so gauld), all the rest would not come neere him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them as he marched, more than his way, slipped up to the middle in an oosie creek, and his salvage with him, yet durst they not come to him till being neere dead with cold, he threw away his arms. Then according to their composition they drew him forth and led him to the fire where his men were slaine. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs. He demanding for their Captaine, they shewed him *Opechankanough*, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round Ivory double compass Dyall. Much they marvailed at the playing of the Fly and Needle, which they could see so plainly and yet not touch it because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that Globe-like Jewell, the roundnesse of the earth and skies, the spheare of Sunne, Moone, and Starres and how the Sunne did chase the night round about the world continually: the greatnesse of the Land and Sea, the diversitie of nations, varietie of complexions, and how we were to them Antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood amazed with admiration."

It will be seen from this that Smith was using an Indian as a guide when he was captured. Of course he had learnt to converse with him. He had been in Virginia at that time nearly two years, and had been constantly mixing with the Indians and learning their language. In the "True Relation," quoted by the author at page 104, Smith states explicitly that he and his guide were "discoursing" when he was attacked. The reader will notice that the Indians had taken him out of the swamp and carried him to the fire he had left at his canoe, before he presented the compass to their chief and entered into conversation concerning it. Bearing this in mind, let us read Mr. Warner's comment on this passage. At pages 122-3 he writes: "We should like to think original in the above the fine passage, in which

Smith, by means of a simple compass dial, demonstrated the roundness of the earth and skies, the sphere of the sun, moon and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world continually; the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, so that the Indians stood amazed with admiration. Captain Smith up to his middle in a Chickahominy Swamp, discoursing on these high themes to a Pamunky Indian, of whose language Smith was wholly ignorant, and who did not understand a word of English, is much more heroic, considering the adverse circumstances, and appeals more to the imagination than the long-haired Iopas singing the song of Atlas at the banquet given to Æneas when Trojans and Tyrians drained the flowing bumpers, while Dido drank long draughts of love. Did Smith, when he was in the neighborhood of Carthage, pick up some such literal translations of the song of Atlas as this:

" He sang the wandering moon, and the labors of the Sun,
From whence the race of men and flocks, whence rain and lightning,
Of Arcturus, the rainy Hyades, and the twin Triones;
Why the winter suns hasten so much to touch themselves in the ocean,
And what delay retards the slow nights."

The misrepresentation contained in the statement, that Smith described himself as discoursing on these high themes while up to his middle in a swamp, with an Indian who could not understand a word of the language he used, is unpardonable. Equally groundless is the insinuation that the discourse never occurred, but was made up long afterwards from Smith's recollection of a passage in Virgil's *Æneid*. The same discourse is related in the "True Relation," written by Smith directly after his return from captivity, and claimed by Mr. Deane and others attacking Smith, to be the true account of the incidents of his captivity. If we are to look for the sources from whence he got his ideas thus conveyed, or pretended to be conveyed to the Indian chief, one would think that his lessons at school and his experience on land and sea were sufficient, without making him use a Latin poet, whom, in all probability, he never read, as he left school at an early age.

Examples of such strained efforts to ridicule Smith might be multiplied and taken from every part of the volume, but we need

not stop to expose them, as every reader will readily detect them. Mr. Warner has been constrained, however, to accord to Smith great merit for his accurate descriptions of Virginia and its inhabitants, and for his profound views and eminent services in regard to the colonization of North America. He represents him as admirable in many traits of character, yet false in what he says of himself. We think as he is sustained by others in matters of which they were cognisant, the conclusion is a safe one that he is truthful in those matters which rest on his own testimony alone.

But we need not pursue this branch of our subject further. The grounds of attack upon Smith, which have not been noticed, will be found even more conspicuously false than those we have been discussing.

Turning now to the direct evidence of the truthfulness of Smith as a writer, we shall find it ample and conclusive. We have seen that his "General History" of Virginia was first published in 1624. In 1629 he published, along with another edition, "The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captaine John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africke & America," and dedicated it to "William, Earle of Pembroke, Lord Steward of his Majestie's most Honorable Household, Robert, Earle of Lindsay, great Chamberlain of England, and Henrie, Lord Hunsdon, Viscount Rochford, Earle of Dover." He commences his dedication thus: "Sir Robert Cotton, that most learned treasurer of antiquitie, having by the perusal of my 'Generall Historie' and others, found that I had likewise undergone divers other hard hazards in other parts of the world, requested me to fix the whole course of my passages in a booke by itselfe, whose noble desire I could not but in part satisfie; the rather, because they have acted my fatal Tragedies on the stage, & racked my Relations at their pleasure." In conclusion he says he dedicated his work to these noblemen and expected them to patronize it, because they were "acquainted both with my [his] endeavors and writings." That this work received a favorable notice from them we learn from the dedication of a later work by Smith, called "Advertisements for the Unexperienced."

Sir Robert Cotton was the founder of the Cottonian Library, now a valuable part of the British Museum. He and the Earl of Pembroke were members of the Virginia Company, and had ample opportunities of knowing whether Smith's "General His-

tory" was truthful or not. Had they not been satisfied of his truthfulness they would hardly have allowed their names to be used in his dedication of his "True Travels," and such use of their names must be taken as their endorsement of the author.

The most remarkable adventures related in this last work are the killing of three Turks by Smith in single combat before the town of Regall, in Transilvania, and his subsequent escape from captivity in Tartary. These are attested by the patent of Sigismundus Bathor, Duke of Transilvania, given in full by Smith in his book, together with the certificate of its record in the office of the Herald of Arms at London. By this patent Smith was authorized to add three Turk's heads to his coat of arms. Grazebrook, in his "Heraldry of Smith," says he found Smith's Coat of Arms with the Turk's heads, which were confirmed to him by the College of Arms, in the British Museum. Harleian MS., No. 578. Burke, in his "Encyclopedia of Heraldry," describes it also. With such proof of the most remarkable incidents in his early life we need not look beyond Smith's own statement for evidence of the rest of this narrative.

As this attack has grown out of Smith's statements in the "General History," however, we will look more particularly to the evidence of his truthfulness in that book.

We have seen that the "General History" embodied the "Oxford Tract," with some additions from the pen of Smith, and that this tract was carefully compiled out of the writings of the colonists, whose names are given by Dr. Symonds, and is a work of the highest authority. Now a comparison of this book with the "General History" shows that nearly every incident of Smith's stay in Virginia, given in the "History," is found in the "Tract." Certainly we find in it abundant evidence of "his perils, preservations, dangers, deliverances," which Fuller, through ignorance, or something worse, claimed were published and proclaimed alone by Smith.

The "Oxford Tract" relates, among other incidents, his being surprised by Opechankanough with two hundred men, while he only had fifteen, and his extrication of himself and his men by seizing the Indian King by his long lock and presenting a cocked pistol to his breast; his encounter, while alone, with the King of Paspahegh, "a most strong, stout salvage," which was only ended

by Smith's getting him into the river, and almost drowning him; and the plot of Powhatan to surprise him and murder his party, while away from Jamestown, which was prevented by Pocahontas, who, "by stealth in the darke night came through the wild woods and told him of it."

That the statements, added by Smith in his History, were true, is conclusively shown by the fact that the book was published in 1624, when many persons who had been with Smith in Virginia were alive, and some of them inimical to him, and we have no evidence that any one of his companions ever contradicted the statements in the book, while some of them directly testified to their truthfulness. The first edition contained tributes in verse, commending Smith and his book, written by twenty-one persons, and a later edition gives in addition similar tributes by twelve others. Of these thirty-three persons several were members of the London Company, and five were with Smith in Virginia, three arriving with the first supply, and two with the second, as appears by the published lists. One of the contributors, Edward Robinson, served under him in Transilvania, and was a witness to his adventures there.

Michael Phettiplace, William Phettiplace and Richard Wiffing, who came to Virginia with the first supply, united in their tribute. They recount the fact that they were with him in Virginia, and witnessed his prowess among the Indians. They say of him :

"Who hast nought in thee counterfeit or slie."

and add

"Who saith of thee, this savors of vaine-glorie,
Mistakes both thee and us and this true storie."

Of the two who came with the second supply one, John Codrington, writes :

"That which we call the subject of all storie,
Is truth: which in this worke of thine gives glorie
To all that thou hast done."

And the other, Raleigh Crashaw, speaking of the praise due to him, says :

"For all good men's tongues shall keep the same."

Among the other contributors we find several of the most

noted men of the day. George Wither, distinguished as a poet, satirist and soldier, says:

"Sir your relations, I have read, which show
Ther's reason I should honour them and you."

R. Brathwait, an author of eminence, and John Donne, the celebrated poet, each contribute handsomely to the author's praise; but the tribute deserving of the most weight, perhaps, is that of the Rev. Samuel Purchas, the renowned collector of travels. He commences it thus:

"Loe here Smith's Forge, where Forgery's Roague-branded,"

and continues at some length his quaint verses.

The character of Purchas is thus drawn by Boissard, who is followed by Chalmers and by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: "A man exquisitely skilled in languages, and all arts, divine and human; a very great philosopher, historian, and divine; a faithful presbyter of the Church of England, very famous for many excellent writings, especially for his vast volumes of the East and West Indies, written in his native tongue."

He resided in London, and was rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and chaplain to Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury. Mr. Neill shows him to have enjoyed the confidence of the Virginia Company of London, and his works show him to have been an indefatigable collector of travels, and colonial histories. His great work, styled "Purchas, His Pilgrimes," was published in 1625, the year after Smith's "General History" appeared. In the 4th volume, at page 1705, he commences a history of Virginia, with this caption, "The proceedings of the English Colony in Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writing of Thomas Studley, capemerchant, Anas Todkill, Doctor Russell, Nathaniel Powell, William Phetiplace and Richard Pot, Richard Wiffin, Tho. Abbay, Tho. Hope; and since enlarged out of the writings of Capt. John Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginia occurrents, from the beginning of the plantation, 1606, till Ann. 1610, somewhat abridged." In a marginal note he says: "I have many written Treatises lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, some there, some here after their return; but because these have already seene the light, and containe a full relation of Virginian Affaires, I was loth to wearie the reader with others of

this time." At page 1773 he tells us he had the advantage of a perusal of Smith's "General History" in MS. while preparing his work. He also relates the visit of Rolfe and Pocahontas with Temocomo, "one of Powhatan's counsellours," to England in 1616, and states that he often conversed with this savage, and was favored by Rolfe with the loan of his work upon Virginia. He tells us of the honor and respect which were shown to Pocahontas, not only by the Company, but by many persons of honor, and particularly mentions the magnificent entertainment given her by Dr. King, Lord Bishop of London, at which he was present. With all of the advantages of living at the time of the transactions recorded by Smith, of mingling with the Company which colonized Virginia, of having before him the published and unpublished writings of the colonists, some of which are now lost, and of personally knowing so many of the most conspicuous characters which figure in the history of the colony, the testimony of this able and accurate writer should be conclusive as to Smith's "General History." Not only does he contribute verses commending Smith's work, but we find that in his own book he follows him closely, and gives the particulars of his rescue by Pocahontas as they are related in the "General History." It must have been that the acts of kindness shown by Pocahontas to the English in Virginia were topics of conversation while she was so conspicuous a person in London, as the correspondence of the day shows she was. Her rescue of Smith was either not known or was the subject of conversation. Purchas, who was intimate with Smith, and was in the society of Pocahontas and Rolfe, must have conversed with them about the matter, if it was known. If it was not then known, Purchas would have had his suspicions aroused when Smith afterwards put the incident in his "General History," and, as a careful historian, would have examined the evidences of the truth of the statement before he inserted it in his own book. In either event the fact that Purchas records the incident is the strongest evidence of its truth.

When we look to the writings of Smith himself for evidence of the truthfulness of his statement, in regard to the rescue, we find it ample to confirm our reliance on his veracity.

It is true that the garbled letter from Virginia, published in 1608, makes no mention of the matter, but it relates an incident

very suggestive of the truth of his subsequent statement. Soon after Smith was released from his captivity he determined to arrest some Indians who had been caught thieving in Jamestown. Powhatan was greatly concerned at the arrest, and sent several messengers to obtain their release; finally he sent Pocahontas, who is described as "a child of tenne years old," (she was probably twelve) and Smith delivered to her the prisoners. Why the cunning savage should have trusted his favorite child at such a tender age upon such an errand would be difficult to explain, unless we believe Smith's statement that she had previously saved his life.

In his other writings Smith frequently mentions his rescue, and in such a way as would have led to detection had he made a false statement about it.

In his "General History" he states, that upon the arrival of Pocahontas in England, in 1616, he, "to deserve her former courtesies, made her qualities knowne to the Queene's most excellent Majestie and her court, and writ a little booke to this effect to the Queene, an abstract whereof followeth." In this abstract he recounts his captivity amongst the Indians while in Virginia, and says: "After some six weeks fattening amongst these salvage courtiers, at the minute of my execution she hazarded the beating out of her owne braines to save mine, & not only that, but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to Jamestowne." He then goes on to relate her coming to him afterwards in the night to apprise him of her father's plot to murder him and his men, her relief of the colonists from want, and her services in keeping peace between them and the Indians. He then adds these words: "Thus, most gracious Lady, I have related to your Majestie what at your best leasure our approved Histories will account you at large."

If this letter was written to the Queen under the circumstances, and at the time stated, we cannot doubt with any reason the truth of its statements. Every statement it contains, except that concerning his rescue, is supported by the writings of others in the "Oxford Tract," who were eye-witnesses. The rescue was only witnessed by the Indians; but an assertion of it in a letter to the Queen on behalf of Pocahontas, when she and her husband and her brother-in-law were in England, would not have been attempted if it had never happened.

Sir Thomas Dale brought them to England, and they were the guests of the London Company. Dale and the members of the Company were well informed of the incidents of Smith's life in Virginia, as he had been the most conspicuous man in the colony. Besides, some of the companions of Smith in Virginia had returned to England, and amongst them were several of his enemies. Had Smith for the first time related his rescue under such circumstances, or repeated a story which was untrue, it is impossible to believe that it would have passed without exposure. Nor can we discover any motive prompting Smith to so hazardous an undertaking as the utterance of such a falsehood. The other incidents in the life of Pocahontas, related in the letter and attested by the writings of others, were ample to commend her to the favorable notice of the Queen, and to gratify any vanity Smith might have had about connecting their names. No other motive has been suggested by those attacking him.

But the statement made in this letter that approved histories contained this with the other acts of kindness towards the English, performed by Pocahontas, proves that it was not then for the first time related by Smith. Doubtless the reference is to some of the writings mentioned by Purchas, which are now lost. It will not do to say now that no such statement was contained in histories then extant, when Smith openly stated that it was, and by publishing the letter in 1624 reiterated the statement without contradiction.

It is proper to note that what is given in the "General History," is stated to be an "abstract" of the letter, or "little book" which was sent to the Queen. It cannot be properly concluded, therefore, that the rescue was not more fully detailed in the letter than in the abstract, and all the effort which has been made to represent the account of the rescue as growing by repetition is without warrant.

The fact that Smith wrote this letter in 1616, if conceded, is conclusive of the rescue, and this was so apparent to Mr. Adams that he attempted to discredit Smith's statement concerning it. If the letter was written as claimed, the members of the court must have known of it, and when Smith published the statement in 1624, there were living many persons who had been members of the court of 1616. The Queen was dead, but the King was alive. There were also surviving, Prince Charles, who

named for Smith the localities he had discovered in New England; the celebrated Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, to whom the "General History" was dedicated; the Duchess of Bedford, lady to the Queen's bed chamber, an authoress and a patroness of literary men; the Duchess of Nottingham, lady to the Queen's drawing chamber, famous for her connection with the ring said to have been given by Elizabeth to the unfortunate Earl of Essex, who lost his head; and the Duchess of Suffolk, also of the drawing chamber, and mother of the notorious woman who was divorced from that Earl of Essex, who subsequently led the armies of Parliament against Charles the First.

These, and many others, would have at once detected the falsehood had Smith dared to publish in 1624 a letter purporting to have been written in 1616 to the Queen and her court, about so interesting a person as Pocahontas, which he had in fact never written. Purchas, too, who lived in London, and was intimate with Smith, must have known whether the statement was true, and, so far from any one denying it, he and others are found endorsing it, as well as the rest of the book.

The second reference to his rescue was made by Smith in 1622 in his book entitled "New England Trials." He had just heard of the massacre by the Indians in Virginia, and this led him to speak of his experience in the colony. Amongst other things he says: "Those two honorable Gentlemen, Captaine George Percie and Capt. Francis West, two of the Phitteplaces, and some other such noble Gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and, now living in England, did see me take this murdering Opechankanough, now their Great King, by the long lock on his head, with my pistol to his breast I led him amongst his greatest forces." Further on he adds: "It is true in our greatest extremity they shot me, slue three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled took me prisoner, yet God made Pocahontas, the King's Daughter, the meanes to deliver me." It thus appears that these companions of Smith were in England in 1622, and he named them as witnesses to certain actions of his in Virginia. These persons must have heard the particulars of Smith's captivity when they lived in Virginia, and they would have pronounced this statement in reference to the rescue false, if, indeed, it was false.

We learn from Mr. Neill's book that Rolfe died in 1622, the year this statement was published, and he may not have seen it in print, but we learn from the same author that his brother, Henry Rolfe, was living in England at the time, and was the guardian of the son of Pocahontas. He certainly would have informed himself of the matter, and denied the statement if he had found it untrue. The reference of Smith in the passage seems to be to a matter well known, and has every indication of truth about it, and it cannot be believed, without conclusive testimony, that he then for the first time, and falsely, put forth a claim that Pocahontas saved his life. It may be as well to state that in the verses of the Phettiplaces, printed with the "General History," and endorsing it, they particularly mention Smith's adventure with Opechankanough, which they witnessed.

The next reference we find is in Smith's letter to the commissioners appointed by the King in 1623, to inquire into the affairs of the Company. In this Smith says: "Six weekes I was led captive by those Barbarians, though some of my men were slaine, and the rest fled, yet it pleased God to make their great King's daughter the meanes to returne me safe to Jamestowne." Here again Smith would have been detected if he had related a falsehood, as the commissioners were directed to enquire into the affairs of the Company from the beginning, and they examined various persons who had been connected with it and knew its history.

The fourth statement as to his rescue is found in the "General History," where the detailed account is given heretofore quoted. When we remember that this book states that it was written at the instance of the Virginia Company of London, which statement was not contradicted by any one, so far as we know, but was confirmed by several members who commended the veracity of the author as regards his statements in the volume, we must look upon the book as published with the endorsement of the Company. The men who composed the Company were among the noblest and best in the kingdom, and had every opportunity of knowing whether Smith wrote the truth about their history. It is not credible that they would have permitted his work to go through so many editions without correcting what was known to be false. The fact, therefore, that Smith's book, so far from

being disowned by the members of the Company, was accepted as the standard history of the colony from its first appearance, is very strong evidence of its truthfulness.

The author was, in fact, a man of high character as well as genius. He was one of the persons selected by the Company to govern the infant colony of Virginia; he was entrusted with the charge of two expeditions to New England, and was appointed Admiral of that country. His maps of the countries he visited, and descriptions of their inhabitants, are acknowledged by all writers to be remarkably accurate, and the estimation in which he was held by those who knew him best, is admirably expressed by one of the writers in the "Oxford Tract" upon the occasion of his departure from the colony, in these words:

"What shall I saye, but thus we lost him; that in all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second, ever hating basenesse, sloth, pride and indignitie more than any dangers; that never allowed more for himselfe than for his soldiers with him; that upon no danger would send them where he would not lead them himselfe; that would never see us want what he either had or could by any means get us; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay; that loved action more than wordes, and hated falsehood and coveteousnesse worse than death, whose adventures were our lives, and whose losse our deathes."

The London Company were prompted in sending out the colony by the desire of immediate gain, and when disappointed, threatened to abandon the colonists to their fate; and the hardships of colonial life made many desirous of abandoning the enterprise. But the far-reaching genius of Smith saw in the fertile soil and mild climate of Virginia, the provision by Providence for a great people, and he set himself resolutely to the work of bringing into subjection the native tribes,* and of

*The influence acquired by Smith over the Indians is thus described in "Purchas' Pilgrimage," edition 1614, p. 768: "Powhatan had above thirtie Commanders, or Wirrowances, under him, all of which were not in peace only, but serviceable, in Captaine Smith's presidencie, to the english, and still, as I

making the colony self-supporting. He rebuked the London Company for their threat to abandon the colony, he defeated the efforts to abandon the settlement at the risk of his life, he forced the men to labor, and he taught them how to hold the Indians in subjection, and to get from them needed provisions. In a word, he demonstrated the practicability of the enterprise.

Years afterwards, and when, through his exertions in a great measure, Virginia had been successfully planted, he pictured the miseries through which they had passed who planted it, and his entire devotion of himself to its interests in these words: "By that acquaintance I have with them, I call them my children, for they have been my wife, my hawks, hounds, my cards, my dice, and in totall, my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right. And notwithstanding all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me, yet were there not an Englishman remaining, as God be thanked, notwithstanding the massacre, there are some thousands, I would yet begin againe with as small meanes as I did at first."

As his companions freely accorded to him the honor of being the real founder of Virginia, now that his work has developed into such a power for the advancement of mankind, the world should freely accord him the great honor which is his due. His name, belittled by Fuller in its insertion among the "Worthies of England," should be enrolled among the "Worthies of Mankind," and he be forever assigned an honored place among the founders of great nations.

Mr. Neill, however, has not been content to aim at the destruction of Smith's character alone; he has also attempted to blacken the characters of Pocahontas and Rolfe. He has reproduced the description of the Indian princess at the age of eleven or twelve, given by Strachey, in which she is represented as a "well-featured but wanton young girle," playing with the boys in Jamestown. It may be a matter of doubt whether Mr. Neill meant by this to represent the innocent girl as unchaste, as we know others have done from this passage. He may have thought that his readers would know, what he did not note, that

have beene told by some that have since beene there, they doe affect him and will ask of him."

Strachey and his contemporaries used the word "wanton" in the sense of "playful."* But he has left us in no doubt that he would have us believe that before the marriage of Rolfe and Pocahontas they had been married to other persons, one of whom at least was then alive. He also expressly charges Rolfe with dishonest dealings with the estate of Lord Delaware. The testimony he adduces to sustain these charges will be found singularly inadequate.

The evidence relied on to show that Pocahontas was married before she married Rolfe, is a passage in Strachey's "Historie of Travaile into Virginia," at page 54, in which the author says, "They often reported unto us that Powhatan had then lyving twenty sonnes and ten daughters, besyde a young one by Winganuske, Machumps his sister, and a great darling of the King's; and besides, younge Pocohunta, a daughter of his, using sometye to our fort in tymes past, nowe married to a private captaine called Kocoum, some two yeares since."

Strachey did not publish this work, but left two copies of a manuscript, from one of which, found in the British Museum, Mr. R. H. Major, in 1849, made the publication. At page 29, the author, speaking of the country north of James river, says it was "the place wherein our aboad & habitation now (well neere) 11 yeares consisted." The editor tells us in a note to this pas-

* "All wanton as a child, skipping and vain." *Love's Labor Lost*, v, 2.

"Like wanton boys, that swim on bladders." *Henry VIII*, iii, 2.

"As flies to wanton boys are we to the Gods
They kill us for their sport." *King Lear*, iv, 1.

"Quips and cranks and wanton wiles." *L'Allegro*.

At page 14, Strachey says the word Pocahontas signifies "little Wanton," showing it was a pet name.

A passage in the Oxford Tract, taken from the writings of Richard Pots, has been quoted by a late writer to cast a stigma upon Pocahontas. Pots is denying the charge that Smith ever intended to marry her and make himself King of Virginia. He says: "If he would he might have married her, or done what him listed, for there was none that could have hindered his determination." This plainly was meant to indicate the extent of Smith's power in Virginia, and not to indicate any want of virtue in Pocahontas, who could not have been over fourteen when he left the colony. The inscription on her portrait, in 1616, makes her then 21 years old.

sage, that in the manuscript the word, "six," was originally written, but had been crossed out and the figures 11 inserted in a darker colored ink. This shows that Strachey was from the year 1613 to the year 1618, or thereabouts, preparing this manuscript. The reference to the marriage of Pocahontas was evidently made when she was alive, and she died in March, 1617, in England. She was married to Rolfe in April, 1614, so that if this passage referring to her was written in the latter part of 1615, or 1616, it would have fitted in date that marriage.

We learn from the editor that the other copy of Strachey's manuscript, which is at Oxford, was dedicated to "Sir Allen Apsley, Purveyor to his Majestie's Navie Royall." Sir Allen was appointed to the higher office of Lieutenant of the Tower in 1616, as we learn from his daughter, in her memoir of Colonel Hutchinson, and afterwards it would have been proper to have added this higher title to his name. This makes it certain that the manuscript was completed during or before 1616.

The reliance to show that it was not Rolfe who was referred to as her husband, is in the use of the Indian name Kocoum. It will be seen that the text does not say that the husband was named Kocoum, but that he was a "private Captaine called Kocoum." In Smith's description of the Indians, (page 143, Richmond edition,) he says: "They have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call *Werowance*, or *Caucorouse*, which is captaine." Any one reading the authors we have been referring to, will be struck with the many ways in which they spell the same words, and especially Indian words,* not even observing the rule of *idem sonans*. It is very probable, therefore, that the word Kocoum is but a different spelling of *Caucorouse*, both meaning a captain, and referring to the position held by Rolfe at Jamestown as a captain of some section of the colonists, and therefore called a private captain. We have no information that the Indians had

* A single reference to Strachey will illustrate these various spellings of the same word. At page 56 he speaks "of Coiacohanauke, which we commonly (though corruptly) call Tapahanock, and is the same which Capt. Smith in his mappe calls Quiyoughcohanock," and "of the Weroance Pepiscummah, whome by construction, as well the Indians as we, call Pipisco."

any such officer except for war, who could not be called a private captain, while we find that the colony from its beginning was thrown into companies, having captains placed over them for civil government, which might well be called private captains. It is evident, therefore, that the word Kocoum might be the Indian designation of Rolfe, either from the office of private captain which he held, or otherwise; and that being the case, and it thus appearing that the author might have been, and probably was, referring to the marriage with Rolfe, in the absence of any other mention by him or by other writers of a marriage with any one else, we must conclude that the marriage with Rolfe was referred to. Had it not been so, when the author revised his manuscript after the arrival of Pocahontas in England as the wife of Rolfe, he would certainly have added to the passage the statement that she had subsequently married Rolfe. That the author revised this manuscript as late as 1618 is shown by the change of date we have noted, and by the fact that it is dedicated to "Sir Francis Bacon, Lord High Chancellor," and Bacon was not made chancellor till January, 1618.

The evidence relied on to show that Rolfe had another wife living at his marriage with Pocahontas, is a passage in a letter from Strachey, relating his shipwreck upon the island of Bermuda in 1610, on his way to Virginia. It is found at page 1746 of vol. iv. of Purchas' Pilgrims, and is as follows: "And the eleventh of February wee had the childe of John Rolfe christened, a daughter, to which Captaine Newport and myselfe were witnesses, and the aforesaid Mistris Horton, and we named it Bermuda." No mention is made of the mother of this child so as to show whether she was then alive, and no mention is made of her afterwards by this or by any other writer. Several years afterwards we find Rolfe publicly married at Jamestown to Pocahontas, with the consent of the acting Governor and of her father, and the service performed by a minister of high standing, and we are obliged to conclude that his first wife was then dead. The letter of Rolfe to Sir Thomas Dale, giving his reasons for his proposed marriage with Pocahontas is preserved by Hamor, and it shows Rolfe to have been an humble Christian, seeking Divine guidance as to the whole matter. His allusion to his condition in the following sentence shows plainly that he was unmarried: "Nor am I in so desperate an estate, that I regard not

what becommeth of mee ; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my country, nor so void of friends nor mean of birth but there to obtain a mach to my great content."

It is not to be believed that Sir Thomas Dale, the acting Governor, and the Rev. Alexander Whitaker, the minister in the colony, should have approved of the marriage, as their letters printed by Purchas show, if either of the parties were married at the time. Both Dale and Whitaker state that Pocahontas had been baptized into the Christian faith before her marriage. Pocahontas and Rolfe were afterwards carried to England by Dale, as the guests of the London Company, and were received with favor at Court and into London society. Mr. Neill should bring direct and overwhelming proof to establish now that they were never lawfully married. His insinuations to the contrary will not be taken as proof, and can injure no one but himself.

At page 101 of his book, Mr. Neill heads a section with these words: "Rolfe suspected of unfair dealings," and he adds, "The minutes of the Company do not give a very high opinion of Rolfe's honesty." In proof he gives an entry of April 30, 1621, by which it appears that Lady Delaware requested, "that in consideration of her goods remayning in the hands of Mr. Rolfe, in Virginia, she might receive satisfaction for the same out of his tobacco now sent home." Mr. Neill himself gives other entries which show that the tobacco did not belong to Rolfe, and that Mr. Henry Rolfe was directed to acquaint her ladyship that his brother offered to make her, "good and faithfull account of all such goods as remayne in his hands, upon her ladyship's direction to that effect." Accordingly she desired "the court would grant her a commission dyrected to Sir Frances Wyatt, Mr. George Sandys and others, to examine and certifie what goods and money of her late husband's deceased, came to the hands of Mr. Rolfe, * * * and to require the attendinge to his promise that she may be satisfied." This seems to have been the usual way that estates in Virginia were appraised and settled at that time, when, for the lack of probate courts in the colony, the Company in London regulated such matters.

Nothing more is given by Mr. Neill from any source as to the settlement of Lord Delaware's estate, and we must conclude that Rolfe fully accounted for it so soon as his accounts were lawfully settled and he could get a legal discharge.

It is upon such a flimsy pretext as this that Mr. Neill attempts to fix the charge of dishonesty on Rolfe, who is represented by the Rev. Alex. Whitaker, and other writers of the time, as a man of high character and of great usefulness in the colony. It is worthy of note that he was the pioneer in the culture of Virginia's great staple, tobacco, and one of the most active in developing the various resources of the country. He will be ever remembered in history, however, as the husband of Pocahontas, who, born the daughter of a savage King, was endowed with all the graces of character which become a Christian princess; who was the first of her people to embrace Christianity, and to unite in marriage with the English race; who, like a guardian angel, watched over and preserved the infant colony which has developed into a 'great people, among whom her own descendants have ever been conspicuous for true nobility; and whose name will be honored while this great people occupy the land upon which she so signally aided in establishing them.

1

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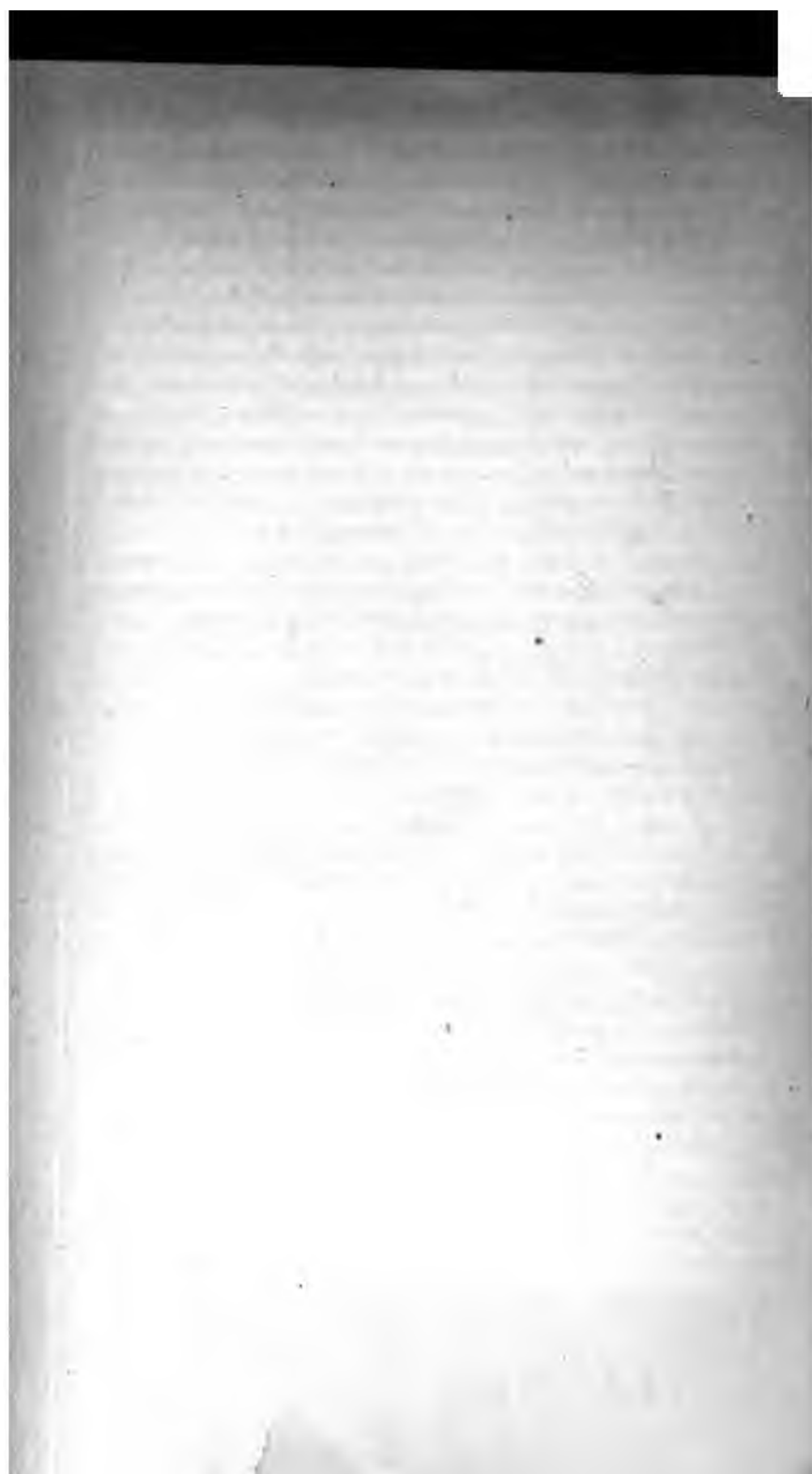
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